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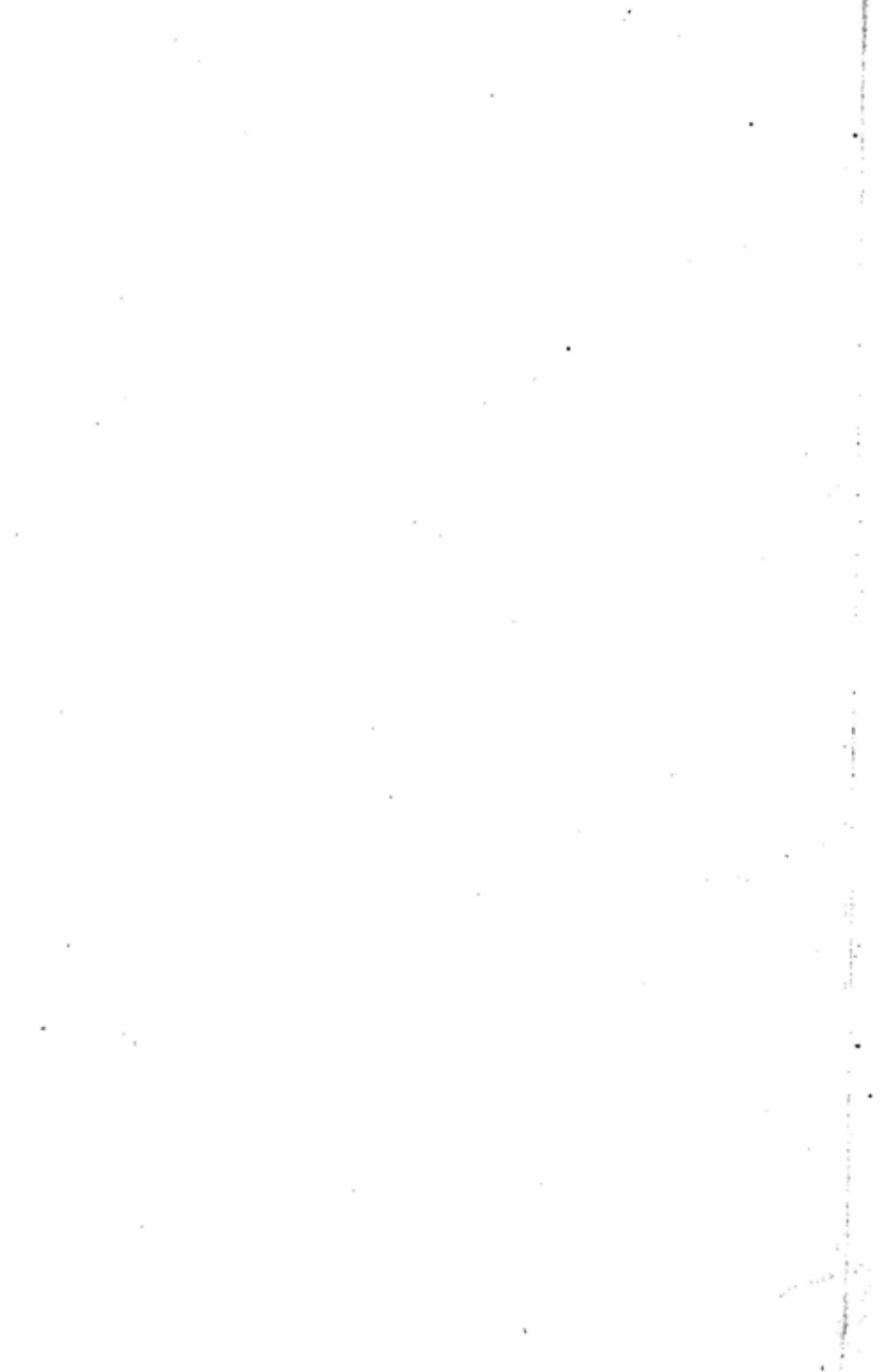
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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY



THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EDITED BY
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I.

A NEW BRONZE MEDALLION OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

[SEE PLATES I-II.]

THE bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius reproduced here by courtesy of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin of London, is at present in their possession. Unfortunately it is in poor condition and has been much cleaned up in order to remove the products of corrosion. But the fact that it adds yet another item to the list of "framed" medallions of Pius and that its reverse-type, a curious and puzzling one, is known from only one other example, where it is combined with a different obverse, should make the publication of this piece a matter of scientific, if not of aesthetic, interest to students of Roman medallions.

Obv. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P COS III
Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, to left. Border of dots.

Rev. [COS III (exergue)?]¹ Nude male figure advancing to right, beardless, with chlamys hanging over left arm: he holds a ? in his left hand and with his right hand he drags an animal by its forelegs after him. On the left is a tree-trunk(?). On the right is a tripod, set on a basis, and still farther to the right is a tree:

¹ It is just possible that there are traces of COS III in the exergue on the original; but they are so slight that they do not show up on a cast. The mention of the consulship on both sides of the same medallion is an unusual feature. But it also occurs, significantly, on a series of Hadrianic medallions with a very similar reverse-type, to which we shall later return.

a long snake is coiled round the tree, its head passing across the upper part of the tripod. Border of dots.

Æ; 35 mm. (1.35); 60 mm. (2.4) + frame; wt. 87.3 g. (184.8 gr.) ↑↑ [Pl. I. 1].

The medallion is surrounded by a frame adorned with three concentric bevelled rings and an outer and an inner ring of large dots. Frame and medallion appear to be contemporary, though not struck on a single flan. This piece brings the number of framed medallions of Pius known to the present writer up to a total of twenty-six.

So far as I am aware, the only other medallion with precisely this reverse-type is an Antonine piece in Paris,² quoted by Gneecchi,³ but hitherto unpublished; its state of preservation is even worse than that of our new piece.

Obv. A]NTONINVS AVG PIVS [. . . . ?] Bust of Antoninus Pius, laureate, to right, seen from the side, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.

Rev. [COS III (exergue)?] Same type as above. Border of dots.

Æ; 38 mm. (1.5); wt. 32.65 g. (503.5 gr.) ↑↑ [Pl. I. 2.]

The combination of the same reverse-type with two, occasionally with three, different obverse-types is a familiar feature of the medallions of Pius' principate. No less than twenty-eight examples of this had previously been noted by the present writer: the new piece now adds a twenty-ninth. On the Paris piece the obverse legend is obliterated after the word PIVS: from the amount of space left for lettering we should

² No. 108.

³ *I medaglioni romani*, ii, p. 17, no. 69.

deduce that the missing portion read **P P** or **P P TR P**, rather than **P P TR P COS III**, and that **COS III** may have been found originally in the exergue of the reverse, as, possibly, on the new medallion. At any rate there can be little doubt that the two medallions are contemporary, both dating, as the new piece certainly does, from the period A.D. 140-143.

The main interest of this pair of medallions lies in the identification of the nude male figure who occupies the central position in their reverse-type. This design, as a whole, immediately recalls a reverse-type of Hadrian, which occurs, combined with seven different obverses, on twelve medallions known to the present writer either in the originals or from reproductions,⁴ while a thirteenth piece, with yet another obverse, is quoted by Gneecchi as belonging to the former Dupré Collection.⁵ On eight of these pieces the emperor's consulship is mentioned on both obverse and reverse: on two others the absence of **COS III** on the reverse may be due to tooling or to wear; and on the three remaining pieces **COS III** occurs on the reverse only. In the centre of the reverse design a naked male figure with pointed beard strides towards the right. He carries a chlamys, of which one end hangs down over his left

⁴ Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 5, nos. 16, 18-23, tavv. 39, nos. 1-3, 41, no. 4; Grueber, *Catalogue of Roman Medallions in the British Museum*, p. 4, nos. 11, 12, Pl. V, 1; P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts: Teil II. Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Hadrian*, Katalog Nrr. 485e, 487, 486, 492; Trau, *Num. Zeit.*, 1870, S. 427 ff., Taf. II, 1; Kubitschek, *Ausgewählte römische Medaillons der kaiserlichen Münzensammlung in Wien*, S. 2, Nr. 5, Taf. I; Trau *Coll. Cat.*, 1935, S. 32, Nr. 183, Taf. 16.

⁵ Gneecchi, *loc. cit.*, no. 17; Strack, *loc. cit.*, S. 233, Abhg. IV, Nr. 17.

arm, while the other end flaps out behind him in the wind. In his left hand he holds a *pedum* and with his right hand he drags after him, by the forelegs, a ram. On the extreme left is a tree, while on the right is shown one Ionic column, and a portion of the pediment, of a small shrine raised on a high *podium*. Just to the left of the shrine, on the ground, is a lighted altar, and in front of the altar a bird, most probably a cock, stands to the left. The reverse legend, COS III P P, runs perpendicularly between the shaft of the column and the surrounding border of dots [Pl. I. 3]. It may be at once confessed that the identification of the central figure is a problem which, so far, defies any final solution. In the Trau Collection Catalogue he is described as Pan,⁶ for whom *pedum* and ram are suitable enough attributes, but hardly so the cock. Moreover, the muscular, bearded figure harmonizes ill with a quite certain representation of Pan shown in another Hadrianic medallion-type, where the god appears as a slender youth, horned and beardless, seated to the left on a rock and wearing a *nebris*.⁷ Trau,⁸ Kubitschek,⁹ and Grueber¹⁰ identify our figure with Silvanus, on the strength, no doubt, of his thick-set, elderly figure, beard, and *pedum*. But neither ram nor cock (mistaken by Trau for a dog) are attributes of Silvanus; and the fact that three of the most familiar of his attributes—dog, pine-branch, and pouch of fruits—are all absent tells against this identification. Strack originally suggested,¹¹ tentatively, that our god is Apollo—Apollo

⁶ *loc. cit.*

⁷ Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 4, no. 9; iii, p. 20, nos. 101, 102, tav. 146, no. 10; Kubitschek, *op. cit.*, Taf. I, 8.

⁸ *loc. cit.*

⁹ *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *loc. cit.*

¹¹ *loc. cit.*

Nόμιος, presumably, the god of flocks and herds—hence the *pedum*, to whom, under the title of Apollo *Κάρνειος*, worshippers offered a ram.¹² But an elderly, bearded Apollo would be very unusual in second-century imperial art: and the cock still remains unexplained. More probable is Froehner's view,¹³ now adopted by Strack,¹⁴ that our figure represents Hermes-Mercurius. An archaizing type of Hermes, with pointed beard, is certainly possible in the Hadrianic age; and both cock and ram were sacred to Hermes. The *motif* of the god carrying or sacrificing a ram is, indeed, too familiar a cult-type of Hermes to require illustration here. It will be enough to call attention to a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius, known from two examples in Paris¹⁵ and Vienna¹⁶ respectively, showing a young, beardless Hermes standing naked to left, glancing upwards, with his chlamys hanging down his back: he holds a *caduceus* in his left hand and grasps with his right hand the horn of a ram, which springs towards the left at his side: on the right is a tree and on the left a garlanded *cippus* surmounted by a tortoise [Pl. II. 1].¹⁷ The *pedum* held by the god in the Hadrianic reverse-type undoubtedly presents a difficulty. Though not unsuitable to Hermes as patron of flocks and herds, it

¹² Theocritus, 5, 82:—καὶ γὰρ ἔμ' Ὀπόλλων φιλέει μέγα, καὶ καλὸν αἰτῶναι | κριὸν ἐγὼ βόσκω. τὰ δὲ Κάρνεα καὶ δὴ ἐφέμρει.

¹³ *Médaillons romains*, pp. 31–33.

¹⁴ *op. cit.*, Teil III. *Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Antoninus Pius*, S. 84, Anm. 246.

¹⁵ No. 127.

¹⁶ No. 32122

¹⁷ Gneccchi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 18, no. 80, tav. 52, no. 6; Kubitschek, *op. cit.*, S. 3, Nr. 19, Taf. I. On the Vienna example the head and shell of the tortoise on top of the *cippus* are perfectly clear: it is certainly not a globe, as Strack, *op. cit.*, iii, Nr. 576, S. 129, Anm. 392.

never occurs among his regular attributes. On the other hand, fairly conclusive evidence that this Hadrianic god could at least be interpreted as Hermes by some coin-designers of imperial times is provided by the reverse of a bronze coin of Pergamon struck under Commodus, which shows precisely the same figure (obviously copied straight from our medallion-type) in the centre, bearded (?), flanked by a tree on the right and by a pillar surmounted by a tortoise (?), or ram's head (?), on the left, and holding in his left hand, not a *pedum*, but an upright *caduceus* [Pl. I. 4].¹⁸

We must now return to our two Antonine medallions. As we have seen, their reverse-type follows its Hadrianic model very closely, with the exception of the right-hand part of the design, where, in the place of the shrine and altar, it shows a tree and a tripod, set on a basis. Strack, to whom only the Paris specimen was known, considered that the reverse of this piece had been worked over in modern times and that an original shrine on a *podium* had been altered into a tripod on a basis.¹⁹ Such, however, was not the impression made by the piece upon the present writer. Nor does the new "framed" medallion show any traces of modern tooling or alteration. Had the two pieces, indeed, been worked over, we should have to suppose that the same hand had been responsible for this in both cases, for, allowing for the poorer condition of the Paris piece, the lines of tree, tripod, snake, and basis are practically identical on both medallions. We may, in

¹⁸ Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen* (1890), S. 93, Nr. 180, Taf. VII, 9; H. von Fritze, *Die Münzen von Pergamon* (1900), S. 67, Taf. VI, 2.

¹⁹ *op. cit.*, iii, S. 337, Abhg. II, D, 2.

fact, now safely conclude that these objects are genuine and original elements of our Antonine type. But the Antonine god is no easier to identify than his Hadrianic predecessor. With the Hadrianic medallions to guide us, we can just detect on those of Pius the *pedum* held in the god's left hand: and again, on the analogy of the former, we may conclude that the animal dragged along by its forelegs is a ram. Were it not for the snake coiled about the tree and tripod, we might regard the latter as a sacrificial tripod, serving the same purpose as the altar in the Hadrianic design, and, without more ado, see again in Hermes the most likely candidate for this rôle. But the snake, and also the ample proportions of the tripod, definitely suggest Apolline connexions. Very similar tripods do, in fact, occur in medallion-types of Hadrian and Pius in association with figures which unmistakably represent Apollo. Four medallions of Hadrian have as reverse-type, in combination with three different obverses, Apollo standing naked to front and looking to left: he holds a bow in his right hand and a branch(?) in his left hand, while his cloak hangs down over his left arm: on the left is a table with a vase upon it, on the right is a tripod, and to the right of that again is a tree [Pl. II. 2].²⁰ Three of these pieces have COS III on both sides: its absence on the fourth may be due to wear. An early medallion of Pius, struck in 139 and known only from one specimen in the British Museum, shows on its reverse Apollo Citharoedus advancing to left, wearing a long chiton and holding *plectrum* and

²⁰ Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 4, nos. 6, 7, 8, tavv. 38, nos. 6, 41, no. 1; Strack, *op. cit.*, ii, Nrr. 448, 473, 485 c.

lyre, with a garlanded altar on the right and a large tripod on the left [Pl. II. 3].²¹ Finally, on the reverse of another unique piece, a bronze medallion in Naples of Marcus Aurelius, struck under Pius in 149, we see a naked Apollo standing to front and looking to left: in his right hand he holds a libation bowl over a lighted altar, while to the left again is a tree: on the right is a large tripod, set on a square basis, surmounted by small figures and with a large snake entwined about its legs [Pl. II. 4].²² If, then, the tripod on our two Antonine medallions is Apollo's, the god (here, be it noted, represented as beardless) dragging along the ram must in this case be, not Hermes-Mercurius, but Apollo Νόμιος or Κάρνειος: and thus Apollo would appear under two quite different aspects—pastoral and Delphic—in the same design. Once again, a really satisfactory and convincing solution of our problem eludes us. But it is largely these hidden secrets of religious cult which make second-century medallions so intriguing, if tantalizing, a study.

JOCelyn M. C. TOYNBEE.

²¹ Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 14, no. 46, tav. 48, no. 5; Strack, *op. cit.*, iii, Nr. 529, S. 85; Grueber, *op. cit.*, p. 7, no. 2, Pl. VIII, 1.

²² Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 31, no. 35, tav. 61, no. 9; Strack, *op. cit.*, iii, Nr. 609.

II.

TWO NEW GOLD MEDALLIONS OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE.

[SEE PLATES III-V.]

THE two gold Roman medallions published here for the first time with the kind permission of their present owner, Sr. Ing. G. Mazzini of Turin, had previously been for thirty or forty years (so I am informed) in a private collection in Rome.¹ But they were entirely unknown to numismatists in general until recently, when they were sent over to this country for an opinion as to their genuineness. I have not seen the originals myself: but the British Museum authorities, who have examined them, consider their authenticity to be beyond doubt. The first, a $4\frac{1}{2}$ -*solidus* piece of Theodosius, minted in Constantinople, is interesting. But the second, a 12-*solidus* piece of Libius Severus (A.D. 461-465), is quite remarkable: it reveals a wholly unsuspected chapter in the history of medal-engraving in late Roman imperial times and it is almost comparable, in its isolation and uniqueness, with the famous gold medallions of Theoderic (c. A.D. 500)² and of Justinian (c. A.D. 534).³

¹ The family which owned this collection was living at Albano towards the end of the last century; and it is possible that these two medallions come from a find discovered on the shore of the lake between 1900 and 1910. This possibility is of interest, for gold medallions have only very rarely been found in Italy.

² Gneecchi, *I medaglioni romani*, i, p. 40, no. 1, tav. 20, no. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40, no. 1, tav. 20, no. 4.

I. *Obv.* D N THEODO-SIVS P F AVG Bust of Theodosius, diademed, to right, seen three-quarters to front and wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.

Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM (around) CONOB (exergue). Constantinopolis seated to left on an elaborate throne with high back decorated with two pairs of spiral (or disk-like?) ornaments above and lions' heads below, only one lion's head being actually visible: she wears crested helmet, long chiton and himation and holds a spear in her left hand and on her extended right hand a globe, which is surmounted by a Victory, standing to right with a wreath in her right hand and a palm-branch in her left hand: on the left, at the feet of Constantinopolis, is the prow of a galley: just above the prow a large Christian monogram occupies the field. Border of dots.

N; 36 mm. (1.4); wt. 20 gr. (308 gr.)

[Pl. III. 1.]

The question at once arises as to which Theodosius is depicted here. The portraits of Theodosius I and Theodosius II are, in many cases, notoriously hard to differentiate. Taken by itself, the portrait on the obverse of our new medallion could be attributed to either emperor. For instance, it bears a distinct resemblance to the portrait on a $\frac{1}{2}$ -*solidus* of Theodosius II, struck at Constantinople, with reverse VICTORIA AVGG (around), CONOB (exergue) and Victory, seated to right, inscribing XX XXX on a shield, where the *Vota* numbers make the attribution practically certain.⁴ On the other hand, our portrait is very similar to that on a Constantinopolitan *solidus* in Paris with the well-known reverse-type of Theodosius I—Constantinopolis enthroned to front with VOT X MVLT XV

⁴ Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, S. 94, Nr. 2, Taf. 17, Nr. 2; *Neville Cat.*, iii (Evans), no. 234. Example in British Museum.

on her shield and legend **CONCORDIA AVGGGΓ**.⁵ Medallion-portraits of the two emperors are unhelpful. No gold medallions of Theodosius II, with which to compare our piece, have yet come to light. The only known medallion of that emperor is the curious silver piece in Paris, struck at Constantinople, measuring 39 mm. (1.5) in diameter and weighing 12.41 g. (191.5 gr.), with reverse-type alluding to *Vota* celebrations of Theodosius II—**VOT XXXV MXLT** (*sic*) [**XX**]**XX** in a laurel-wreath, in the exergue [**CO**]**NS** accompanied by two stars: the obverse combines the legend of Leo I (**D N LEO PE-RPET** [**AVG**]) with a portrait of Theodosius II which shows no striking resemblance to the portrait on the new medallion.⁶ Very different from the latter are the portraits of Theodosius I on his silver medallions struck at Thessalonica (reverse = **RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICE** (*sic*)/**T E S**)⁷ and Rome (reverse = **TRIVMFATOR GENT BARB**/R **T**)⁸ respectively. Equally remote from the new portrait are the portraits on the only known gold medallions of Theodosius I, two large 10-*solidus* pieces struck at Aquileia⁹ and Milan¹⁰ respectively, with reverse legend **RESTI-**

⁵ Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 92, Nr. 7, Taf. 15, Nr. 7.

⁶ Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines*, i, p. 130, no. 1, Pl. VII, no. 1; B. Pick, *Num. Zeit.*, 60, 1927, S. 21; Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 95, Nr. 7, Taf. 17, Nr. 7.

⁷ Gnecci, *op. cit.*, i, p. 81, no. 5 (=no. 6); Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 92, Nr. 10, Taf. 15, Nr. 10.

⁸ Gnecci, *op. cit.*, p. 81, no. 7; W. Kubitschek, *Ausgewählte römische Medaillons der kaiserlichen Münzensammlung in Wien*, S. 41, Nr. 372.

⁹ Berlin, Gnecci, *op. cit.*, i, p. 38, no. 1, tav. 19, no. 12; Bansa, *Note sulla zecca di Aquileia romana*, tav. vi, no. 36.

¹⁰ Washington (Freer Collection): W. Dennison, *A Gold Treasure of the late Roman Period from Egypt*, Pl. x, xi.

TVTOR REI-PVBLICAE and the type of Theodosius standing to front in military dress and raising up a turreted woman who kneels on the left towards the right.¹¹ As regards the reverse-type of our new medallion, no exact parallel for the design is to be found among the medallions or coins of either emperor. The *solidi* of Theodosius I invariably depict Constantinopolis as enthroned to front. *Solidi* with legends of Theodosius II—IMP XXXXII COS XVII PP and VOT XXX MVLT XXXX—show a type that comes nearer to our design. They show Constantinopolis seated to left, in the same costume, on a high-backed throne, with or without a prow on the left at her feet: she has, however, a shield at her side and holds a sceptre in her left hand and on her right hand a globe surmounted by a Cross.¹²

But in the Beistegui Collection in Paris there is a $4\frac{1}{2}$ -*solidus* piece of Arcadius which seems to solve our problem, rendering the attribution of the new medallion to Theodosius I a practical certainty.¹³ The reverse

¹¹ The same reverse-type occurs on 10-*solidus* pieces of Valens (mint of Trier: Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 37, no. 12, tav. 15, no. 2; Bansa, *op. cit.*, tav. vi, no. 38) and Valentinian II (mint of Aquileia: Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 38, no. 6, tav. 19, no. 8; Bansa, *op. cit.*, tav. v, no. 35; mint of Trier: Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 38, nos. 7, 8; Bansa, *op. cit.*, tav. vi, no. 39; Delbrück, *op. cit.*, Taf. 14; Nr. 4) and also on an unpublished silver piece of Gratian in Paris (No. 53a), a "prova" in silver of an original 10-*solidus* gold medallion. Bansa (*op. cit.*, p. 67 sq.) suggests that all the pieces of this series were issued contemporaneously, between the elevation of Theodosius I (Jan. 18, 378) and the death of Gratian (Aug. 25, 383), the Valens piece being struck for him posthumously.

¹² Sabatier, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 114, no. 5; 115, nos. 6, 7; 116, no. 14, Pl. V, nos. 1 and 6.

¹³ J. Babelon, *La Collection de monnaies et médailles de M. Carlos de Beistegui*, p. 28, no. 289, Pl. xiii; Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 40,

of this fine medallion, which measures 36 mm. (1.4) in diameter and weighs 20.11 g. (310.4 gr.), is almost the twin of our new piece. It bears the same legends—**GLORIA ROMANORVM** (around) and **CONOB** (exergue) and shows a practically identical figure of Constantinopolis enthroned to left [Pl. III. 2.]. The only variations are minor ones: on Arcadius' piece the back of the throne has neither spiral ornaments nor lions' heads, and the folds of the drapery round the knees of the figure show a slightly different treatment. The obverse displays the charming, boyish portrait of the young Arcadius, which we likewise encounter on an unpublished 3-*solidus* medallion (33 mm. (1.25), 13.32 g. (205.5 gr.)) in Berlin, with reverse **SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE** (around), **CONOB** (exergue) and the boy-emperor, nimbate, standing to left in military dress, holding a *labarum* in his left hand and a globe surmounted by a Victory on his extended right hand [Pl. III. 3.]¹⁴; on *solidi* minted in Constantinople with reverse **CONCORDI-A AVGGG** and Constantinopolis enthroned to front with prow, sceptre, and globe;¹⁵ and on *solidi* minted in Constantinople with reverse **CONCORDI-A AVGGG** and Constantinopolis enthroned to front with prow, sceptre, and shield inscribed **VOT V MVL X**—struck, that is to say, in

no. 1; Sabatier, *op. cit.*, i, p. 100, no. 2; Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines*, Pl. I, 1.

¹⁴ This medallion is quoted (without illustration) by J. W. E. Pearce, *Num. Circ.*, 40, Pt. 7, July, 1932, p. 206, no. 4; *The Coinage of the Valentinian and Theodosian Periods* (1933), p. 64.

¹⁵ Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 94, Nr. 1, Taf. 16, Nr. 1; J. W. E. Pearce, "‘Concordia’ *solidi* struck at Constantinople by Theodosius I" (*Num. Chron.*, 1939), Pl. X, no. 12; XI, nos. 3, 5, 6; XII, nos. 1, 3.

honour of Arcadius' *quinquennalia* in 387¹⁶ [Pl. III. 4]. We know that when Theodosius I celebrated Arcadius' *quinquennalia* in the January of that year, such heavy sums in gold were needed for donatives to the troops that an extraordinary tax was laid upon the cities of the Empire and the populace of Antioch rioted in consequence.¹⁷ I would suggest that the two gold medallions which show this childish¹⁸ portrait of Arcadius were struck for this celebration; and that this event was also the occasion of our Theodosian medallion with its "twin" Constantinopolis reverse-type.^{18a}

¹⁶ J. W. E. Pearce, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI, nos. 11, 12; XII, no. 10. Example in British Museum. For the date see Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste 311-476*, S. 273.

¹⁷ Hodgkin, *The Dynasty of Theodosius*, p. 117 f.; Seeck, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ A "Fest-aureus" (5.4 g., 83.3 gr.) of Arcadius, minted in Constantinople, with reverse VICTORIA ROMANORVM and Victory advancing to left (Tolstoi, *op. cit.*, Pl. I, 2) [Pl. III. 5] shows a slightly less boyish portrait, intermediate between that of his VOT V MVL X *solidi* and that of his *solidi* referring to the VOT X MVLX XV of Theodosius (example in British Museum) [Pl. III. 6], which bear a still older portrait. Cf. J. W. E. Pearce, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII, nos. 13, 14. This distinct difference in portraiture between the coins of Arcadius which allude to his own *quinquennalia* and those which allude to the *decennalia* of his father seems to rule out the theory of a double celebration of both in January, 387 (*Camb. Med. Hist.*, i, p. 241). It should, however, be noted that on the ordinary *solidi*, at any rate, the age at which Arcadius is represented is not an infallible criterion of date. For instance, two *solidi* figured by J. W. E. Pearce (*op. cit.*, Pl. XI, nos. 4, 7) show a decidedly mature portrait, although they were actually struck before the death of Gratian in August, 383.

^{18a} On the "Concordia" *solidi* of Theodosius I and Arcadius the "plain throne" is later in date than the "ornamented throne" (J. W. E. Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 200). But we need not necessarily assume that this rule also held good for "special" pieces such as the large gold medallions and assign, on that account, our

This type was, however, not new in 387. It appears in almost identical form on a $4\frac{1}{2}$ -*solidus* piece of Valentinian I, of which three examples are known—the first in Berlin (19.23 g., 296.7 gr.) [Pl. III. 7], the second in Copenhagen, with a ring attached to it (18.44 g. (284.5 gr.) only, but the piece is very much worn), and the third formerly in the Windisch-Grätz Collection in Vienna (19.6 g., 302.5 gr.).¹⁹ The reverse of Valentinian's piece bears the legend **GLORIA RO-MANORVM** (around) **ANTOB** (exergue) and shows Constantinopolis seated to left on a high-backed throne, decorated, but without spiral ornaments or lions' heads; she wears a crested helmet and her drapery is treated in the same way as on the Theodosian medallion: on her extended right hand she holds a globe surmounted by a Victory, standing to right, with wreath and palm, but in her left hand she holds, not a spear, but a sceptre: the same prow and Christian monogram appear on the left. This medallion was struck for Valentinian at Valens' mint at Antioch and the portrait of Valentinian on the obverse bears a striking resemblance to Antiochene portraits of Valens on a $1\frac{1}{2}$ -*solidus* piece, known from four examples, all struck, it would seem, from the same dies, in Berlin, in the British Museum, in the National Museum at Sofia and formerly in the Weber Collection respectively, with reverse **GLORIA ROMANORVM**

Theodosian Constantinopolis piece ("ornamented throne") to an earlier date than that of Arcadius ("plain throne").

¹⁹ Gneccchi, *op. cit.*, i, tav. 14, no. 9 (=the Berlin, formerly Weber, not, as stated on p. 35, no. 6, the Windisch-Grätz, example); Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 90, Nr. 6, Taf. 13, Nr. 6 (=obr. of Berlin example).

(around) **ANOB** (exergue) and Valens on horseback to left, with the Christian monogram on the left in the field [Pl. III. 8]²⁰; on a *solidus* with reverse **GLORIA ROMANORVM** (around), **PANOBO** (exergue) and Valens standing to front in consular dress, with the Christian monogram in the field on left;²¹ and on *solidi* with reverse **VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM** and Victory seated to right, inscribing **VOT X MVL XX** on a shield, with the Christian monogram in the field on the right.²² These last *solidi* being issued for Valens' *decennalia* in 373, we might assign the whole of this Antiochene group to the same occasion and suggest that Valentinian's Constantinopolis medallion was, like its Theodosian successor, also a *Vota* piece, struck for him by his brother when the latter celebrated his tenth anniversary.²³ Indeed, Valens' *decennalia* may

²⁰ Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 36, no. 7, tav. 14, no. 12 (= Berlin example); Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 90, Nr. 1. Taf. 13, Nr. 1 (= *obv.* of Berlin example); Weber *Cat.*, 1909, Taf. 50, Nr. 2734 = *Vierordt Cat.*, 1923, Pl. 62, no. 2831.

²¹ Cohen, ed. 2, viii, no. 8; Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 90, Nr. 4, Taf. 13, Nr. 4. Cohen's version of the mint-mark **RANOBO** looks like a misreading of **PANOBO**.

²² Cohen, ed. 2, viii, no. 62; Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 90, Nr. 2, Taf. 13, Nr. 2.

²³ It is possible that the constant appearance of the Christian monogram on these Antiochene pieces may be connected with a Christian reaction in that city against the pagan propaganda of Julian the Apostate. It was at Antioch that Valentinian, when obliged to attend Julian to a pagan temple, struck the priest who sought to sprinkle him with holy water; and it was to Antioch that Jovian marched from Nisibis with the banner of the Cross once more triumphantly displayed. It is true that no monogram appears in the field of an Antiochene 3-*solidus* medallion of Valentinian in Brussels (33 mm. (1·3) 13·37 g., 303·6 gr.), with reverse **GLORIA RE-IPVBLICAE** (around) **ANT** (exergue) and the emperor standing to front in military dress with *labarum* and

have occasioned the issue of coins and medallions of Valentinian anticipating (i.e. "looking forward to") the completion of the latter's own third *quinquennalia*.²⁴ A *miliarensis* of Valentinian in the British Museum, struck at Siscia, has VOTIS XV MVLTI XX in a laurel-wreath on the reverse: allowing for differences of mint and fabric, the Siscian portrait might well be contemporary with that of the Antiochene medallion.²⁵

II. *Obv.* D N LIBIVS SEVE-RVS AVG Deep bust of Libius Severus to right, seen three-quarters to front, with paludamentum, fastened by a large brooch on the right shoulder, and cuirass: he wears a diadem adorned with a large rosette in the centre and consisting of a broad band divided into square fields, each square containing a large circular dot: below the diadem, just above the brow, a triple laurel-wreath is visible. Border of dots.

Rev. PI-E-TAS AVG N-OSTRI (around) COMOB (exergue). In the centre the emperor stands to front, looking to left; he wears military dress, holds in his left hand a sceptre (or reversed spear?) and with his right hand raises up, by the right wrist, a turreted woman, dressed in long chiton and himation, who kneels at his feet to the right. On the left, standing to the right, a female figure in Amazonian costume—crested helmet, short, slipped chiton, chlamys and boots—presents the turreted woman to the emperor: she holds a large round shield on her left arm. On the right is Victory, standing to

Victory on globe (Gnecci, *op. cit.*, i, p. 35, no. 5, tav. 14, no. 8; A. Baldwin, *Five Roman Gold Medallions*, no. 5, pp. 64 ff., Pl. v, where the author connects the piece with the crushing defeat of the Alamanni at Solicinium in 368) [Pl. IV. 1]: but the presence of the *labarum* may have been thought to render a separate monogram superfluous here.

²⁴ Cf. J. W. E. Pearce, "The *Vota*-Legends on the Roman Coinage" (*Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 112 ff.).

²⁵ Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 90, Nr. 3, Taf. 13, Nr. 3.

the left, holding a palm-branch in her left hand and with her right hand placing a wreath upon the emperor's head : above her right arm is shown the upper part of her right wing. Border of dots.²⁶

A ; 52 mm. (2.1) ; wt. 53.8 g. (831.5 gr.). ↑↓
[Pl. IV. 3.]

For so short a reign, Libius' output of coin-issues was not inconsiderable. But this is the first medallion which he has to his credit ; and it is indeed a spectacular one. We search in vain among his coin-types, whose range is limited to Victory, seated or standing, Roma seated, the Cross in a laurel-wreath or the emperor crushing with his heel the serpent's head, for anything in any way approaching this reverse design for interest and complexity. While the Theodosian piece fits, as has been shown, into a definite scheme we have nothing whatever to help us in placing the Libian medallion. But the prototype of the design will be immediately recognized. In the late autumn of 324, or possibly for the New Year celebrations of 325, Constantine the Great issued a series of gold medallions and *solidi* from the mints of Nicomedia and Trier to commemorate his victory over Licinius at Chrysopolis on September 18, 324, and the inauguration, in the November of that year, of the process whereby Byzantium was to be transformed into Constantinople. A 2-*solidus* medallion, issued at Nicomedia and known from two examples, struck, apparently, from the same dies, one in Paris and the other formerly in the Trau Collection, bears the reverse legend **PIETAS AVGVSTI N** (around), **S M N** (exergue) and shows Constantine

²⁶ For the absence of mint-initials in the field cf. the gold medallions of Theoderic and Justinian.

standing to front and raising up a turreted woman who kneels on the left towards the right, while a Victory, standing on the right towards the left, sets a crown on the emperor's head [Pl. IV. 4].²⁷ From the same mint Constantine also issued a $4\frac{1}{2}$ (?)-*solidus* piece represented by one example belonging to the Helleville find, lost in the great Paris theft of 1831 and now only known from a cast in Berlin [Pl. IV. 5].²⁸ Its reverse-type is somewhat different from that of the 2-*solidus* piece: the circumference legend reads PIETAS AVGVSTI NOSTRI, the emperor stands to the left, instead of to front, and the kneeling turreted woman is presented to him by an Amazonian female figure who stands behind her to the right, wears crested helmet, short, slipped chiton, chlamys, and boots, and holds a large round shield on her left arm. Precisely the same type occurs on Nicomedian *solidi* with S M N²⁹ or S M N C³⁰ in the exergue. At the Trier mint Constantine issued the same type on a $4\frac{1}{2}$ -*solidus* medallion with T R in the exergue: it is known from two examples, in Paris [Pl. V. 1] and Vienna [Pl. V. 2] respectively, struck from slightly different dies, each with a ring attached and badly rubbed on both sides

²⁷ Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 18, no. 36, tav. 7, no. 9; Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, iii, p. 62, no. xviii, Pl. III, no. 5; Traud. *Coll. Cat.*, 1935, Taf. 45, Nr. 3901.

²⁸ Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 18, no. 38; E. Babelon, *Rev. Num.* 1906, p. 170, no. 6, Pl. viii, no. 6; Maurice, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 62, no. xvii.

²⁹ Maurice, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 62, no. xvi, Pl. III, no. 4 (Paris). [Pl. IV. 2].

³⁰ Maurice, *loc. cit.*; Cohen, ed. 2, viii, no. 393, figure in text (British Museum) [Pl. IV. 6]. The Karlsruhe *solidus* [Pl. IV. 7] with the same types, but struck from different dies, also has S M N C in the exergue on the reverse, not S M N € as Maurice, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 62, no. xvii.

from contact with the person of its one-time owner and wearer.³¹ Finally, also at Trier, Constantine issued a 4½-solidus medallion for Constantius II, known from three examples—in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (with ring attached and worn) [Pl. V. 3], in the Beistegui Collection, Paris [Pl. V. 4], and in Copenhagen [Pl. V. 5] respectively—all struck from slightly different dies; the obverse bears the legend FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C and shows a bust of Constantius laureate to right.³² The existence of this piece of Constantius, who attained the rank of Caesar on November 8, 324, suggests that the whole series was issued subsequently to that date. The kneeling turreted woman is, of course, Constantinopolis, rescued from the enemy and “restored” by Constantine, while the Amazonian figure, who presents her to the emperor, is the goddess Roma or Virtus, symbolizing the prowess of his army at the battle of Chrysopolis. “Pietas” is used here in the sense of “compassion”, as in the Panegyrists³³ and on the famous Arras medallions of Diocletian³⁴ and Constantius Chlorus,³⁵ recording the restoration of Britain to the Empire after the defeat of Allectus in 296.

It is obvious that the designer of our new medallion

³¹ Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 18, no. 37, tavv. 7, no. 10 (Vienna example), 13, no. 4 (Paris example); Maurice, *op. cit.*, i, p. 470, no. 1.

³² Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, i, p. 31, no. 33, tav. 13, no. 3 (Copenhagen example); J. Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. 28, no. 238, Pl. xiii (Beistegui example); Maurice, *op. cit.*, i, p. 470, no. 2, Pl. XIV, no. 1 (Copenhagen example).

³³ e.g. Eumenius, *Panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus*, 19.

³⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1933, p. 274.

³⁵ *Aréthuse*, Jan. 1924, pp. 51, 52, nos. 5, 6, Pl. viii, nos. 5, 6.

of Libius Severus had one, or more, of these Constantinian pieces before him when he prepared his die. I know of no precisely similar coin-(or medallion)-type struck by any emperor during the intervening period of 130-140 years. But the mid-fifth century artist has translated his Constantinian model into the somewhat crude and careless, yet vigorous, style of his own time. On the reverse, the pinched-in waist of the gigantic Victory, who is taller than the emperor himself, the bulging calves of Libius and of the buxom Amazonian lady and the fact that Libius does not actually grasp his spear, are all in keeping with the style of the obverse bust. There, the almost full-face eye in the profile face is, of course, normal in coin-portraits of this period. The large, bold lettering, with "tailed" G, is characteristic of the time, though more carefully executed and more regular than usual, as we should expect to find on so special a piece. Moreover, a *solidus* of Libius, struck in Rome,³⁶ shows just this combination of a triple wreath and a diadem of this precise type with square fields—a Constantinian type of diadem,³⁷ incidentally, for which an exact numismatic parallel only otherwise exists, so far as I can discover, in a rare diademed portrait of Magnentius on a bronze coin of Lugdunum.³⁸ The piece would seem, in fact, to be a typical monument of mid-fifth century art, and as such, more credible as genuine than as a forgery. The actual choice of the type itself can, of course, be made

³⁶ Delbrück, *op. cit.*, S. 100, Nr. 1, Taf. 22, Nr. 1.

³⁷ e.g. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, Taf. 3, Nr. 26; Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, tavv. 7, no. 5, 31, no. 3; Maurice, *op. cit.*, i, Pl. XVI, no. 8; ii, Pl. XVII, no. 8; iii, Pl. III, no. 21.

³⁸ Delbrück, *op. cit.*, Taf. 12, Nr. 1.

to tell both ways. It is hard to see why a forger should have fastened on this particular Constantinian design; on the other hand, its sudden revival by Libius' minting authorities is almost equally puzzling.

There remains, indeed, the question of the significance under Libius Severus of the content of this Constantinian reverse-type. The stalwart Amazon we may safely interpret as the goddess Roma or Virtus. Her protégée, the kneeling turreted lady, should, on the analogy of the Constantinian pieces, be Constantinopolis. But what is Constantinopolis doing on the medallion of a western emperor who was never recognized by his eastern partner? Does the turreted lady here represent the City of Rome or the Roman state in general, and was the piece struck for Libius' accession at Ravenna on November 19, 461, when the Roman world was, so to speak, "restored" again, after having been nominally without an emperor in the West since Majorian's demise three and a half months before? Or is the lady really Constantinopolis, and is our medallion a propaganda piece, designed to establish Libius' claim to recognition in the eastern capital, where, in theory, he also reigned as joint ruler over an empire whose unity still remained technically undisturbed? It is, perhaps, idle to speculate upon what the occasion of the great medallion can actually have been, when we know practically nothing of the events of Libius' reign. As Gibbon says, Libius "ascended the throne of the West without emerging from the obscurity of a private condition. History has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death." According to the Chronicle of Cassiodorus, he died by poison at Ricimer's orders.

Sidonius Apollinaris, in his *Panegyricus Anthemio dictus* (l. 317), summarily dismisses him to a better world :—

“auxerat Augustus naturae lege Severus
divorum numerum.”

Sirmond, commenting on these lines, quotes an epitome of the reigns of Roman emperors, compiled under Justinian, which says “Severus Romae imperavit annos vi ibique religiose vivens decessit”. But now, in the year 1939, the “puppet-emperor”,³⁹ the mere “figure-head”,⁴⁰ who was Ricimer’s tool, has emerged from his devout obscurity into the numismatic limelight.

JOCelyn M. C. TOYNBEE.

³⁹ E. Barker, in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, i, p. 424.

⁴⁰ Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, i, p. 332.

III.

NEW VARIETIES OF ROMAN COINS FROM THE 1936-1938 EXCAVATIONS AT LEICESTER.

THE excavations conducted by Miss K. M. Kenyon F.S.A., at the Jewry Wall, Leicester, produced a total of 665 ancient coins (mainly Roman). The great majority of these were known types already recorded in Mattingly and Sydenham and by Cohen, Voetter, and Pearce. The total comprised only four Pre-conquest, including: 2 British, 1 Eppillus and 1 uncertain; 2 Gallic, 1 Galloping Horse with three dot-in-circle symbols in field, and 1 Bull with "Germanus Indutilli legend"; 102 first and second century to the death of Commodus, including 1 barbarous; 13 of the Severan Dynasty; 211 (all Antoniniani), Philip Senior—Diocletian; only 3 Follis ($\text{Æ} 2$), all of the first Tetrarchy; 120 Constantine I; 17 A.D. 337-340; 63 A.D. 340-364; 75 Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian; 10 Theodosian; 21 presumed Late Barbarous; 24 illegible.

In addition there was a small hoard of 38 Antoniniani—3 Gallienus and 1 Salonina (Sole reign), 5 Claudius II, 1 Quintillus, 1 Postumus, 1 Marius, 6 Victorinus, 10 Tetricus Senior, 4 Victorinus or Tetricus Senior, 3 Tetricus Junior, 1 Aurelian, and 2 Probus. They were in poor condition, the Postumus and Marius being in noticeably better state than the others. Amongst them were, however, three new varieties: Gallienus, a new mint-mark; Salonina, the same; and a new "Salus" type of Claudius.

The new varieties from the site and the hoard are described below. The whole collection will be deposited in the Leicester Museum and Art Gallery.

I should like to express my gratitude to Mr. Mattingly for the opportunity of discussing with him the peculiarities of these coins without, of course, involving him in the responsibility for the opinions expressed, and to the Institute of Archaeology for the facilities kindly provided for photography.

1. *Vespasian*. Dupondius.

Obv. IMP CAES VESPASIANVS AVG COS III Head radiate r., globe below neck.

Rev. FORTVNAE REDVCI S C Fortuna stg. l. holding rudder on globe, branch and cornucopine.

Ref. B.M.C., *Rom. Emp.*, ii, pp. 199 no. †. Mint, Lugdunum. A.D. 71.

Obverse legend is already known for other reverses of this issue.

2. *Vespasian*. As.

Obv. IMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS III Head laureate r.

Rev. S C Eagle on globe r.

Ref. B.M.C., p. 201. Mint, Lugdunum. A.D. 71.

No globe on obverse, a common variant of this issue.

3. *Vespasian*. As.

Obv. IMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS IIII Head laureate r., globe under neck.

Rev. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI S C Aequitas stg. l., holding scales and rod.

Mint, Lugdunum. A.D. 72.

A new type for this mint.

These three coins were recorded by Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., and have not been seen by me.

4. *Trajan. Denarius.*

Obv. IMP CAES NERVA TRA IAN AVG GERM Bust laureate r., drapery behind shoulder.

Rev. PM TR P COS II PP Concordia seated l., holding patera and double cornucopiae.

Cf. M. & S. 2. Mint, Rome. A.D. 98-99.

This type of Concordia seated without altar is more usual both earlier and later, but hitherto has not been recorded for this issue.

5. *Gallienus. Antoninianus.*

Obv. GALLIENVS AVG Head radiate r.

Rev. VBERITAS AVG Uberitas stg. l., holding purse and cornucopiae. $\frac{|}{\epsilon}$.

Cf. M. & S. (Sole reign) 287. Mint, Rome. A.D. 260-268.

Mint-mark addition. Two specimens of this coin were found, one in the hoard.

6. *Gallienus. Antoninianus.*

Obv. GALLIENVS AVG Head radiate r.

Rev. PROVID AVG Providentia stg. l., holding globe and sceptre.

Cf. M. & S. (Sole reign) 508a. Mint, Mediolanum. A.D. 260-268.

Mint-mark addition $\frac{|}{\text{M S}}$ (?)

7. *Salonina. Antoninianus.*

Obv. SAL Bust diademed on crescent r. hand.

Rev. [VENVS VI]CTR[IX] Venus stg. r., leaning on column, holding uncertain object in extended r. hand.

M. & S. (Sole reign) 31. Mint, Rome. A.D. 260-268.

Reverse type variant, Venus to r., instead of to l., the normal position.

8. *Claudius II.* Antoninianus.

Obv. IMP CL Bust radiate r.

Rev. FIDES MILITVM Fides stg. l., holding standard and spear.

Cf. M. & S. 38. Mint, Rome. A.D. 268-270.

Mint-mark addition, cf. 5 above 1 €.

9. *Claudius II.* Antoninianus.

Obv. IMP C CLAV Bust radiate, draped, r.

Rev. S AL V Salus stg. l., feeding snake rising from altar (?) and holding cornucopiae.

Cf. M. & S. 98. Mint, Rome. A.D. 268-270.

Cornucopiae in place of sceptre on reverse is unusual. Coin appears to be a regular issue.

10. *Claudius II.* Antoninianus.

Obv. Legend illegible. Bust radiate, draped, r.

Rev. LAETITIA AVG Laetitia stg. l., holding wreath and rudder.

Cf. M. & S. 56. Mint, Rome. A.D. 268-270.

Laetitia with wreath and rudder instead of wreath and anchor has been recorded for Gallienus.

11. *Postumus.* Antoninianus.

Obv. IMP C POSTUMUS P F AVG Bust draped and cuirassed, radiate, r.

Rev. HERC PACIFERO Hercules stg. l., holding olive-branch, club, and lion-skin.

Cf. M. & S. 135. Mint, Lugdunum. A.D. 259-268.

Obverse legend variant.

12. *Victorinus.* Antoninianus.

Obv. INVS P F Head or bust radiate r.

Rev. SAL Female figure stg. l., holding caduceus or branch in extended r. hand and cornucopiae in l.

Perhaps a careless mistake of the die-cutter who cut a *Salus* legend for the type—*Felicitas* (M. & S. 45), if it really is a caduceus in her r. hand. The coin is in poor condition and may be barbarous.

13. *Irregular Tetricus Senior.*

Obv. Legend illegible. Bust radiate, draped and cuirassed, r.

Rev. SA . . . AVGG Female figure stg. l., holding in l. hand branch or caduceus and in r. anchor.

This coin, if the object in l. hand is a branch, corresponds to *Tetricus Junior*, M. & S. 266, but the head on obverse is bearded.

14. *Carausius. Antoninianus.*



(Enlarged 2 diam.)

Obv. VIRTVS CARAVSI AVG Helmeted bust with crest and radiate crown l.: on l. shoulder shield ornamented with studs, eagle-tipped sceptre in front of bust.

Rev. PACAT O RBIS Emperor, wearing helmet, cuirass and cloak, stg. l., holding in l. hand transverse sceptre: r. arm extended with open hand. On each side of him are two smaller figures with raised hands, one kneeling and one standing. In exergue, OXXVÇ.

New type, well designed and executed, but letters badly formed; the treatment of the bust recalls Probus; the combination of helmet and shield with eagle-sceptre is unusual.

The reverse is borrowed from the *PACATOR ORBIS aurei* of Probus, M. & S. 136, Pl. II, 1 (Rome) and 591 (Siscia), but the design at least in comparison with the Roman coin is greatly superior. The legend appears on another reverse of Carausius with the bust of Sol and is a popular epithet of the third-century Emperors.

The letters in exergue are of great interest. Do they indicate a mint? The O is very difficult to fit into any theory. Or have they nothing to do with mintage and do they refer to some important occasion in the reign of Carausius? Some such rendering as "Ob Vicennalia Vota Carausi" would have the advantage of a single explanation for the whole group. The unusual artistic merit of the coin and its medallie character would support such a theory as well as the absence, or at least the great scarcity, of parallel pieces. In view of the style of the coin I feel very reluctant to regard them as meaningless signs.

15. *Carausius. Antoninianus.*

Obv. IMP CARAVSIVS Bust with thick elongated neck, draped, radiate, r.

Rev. . . LV S AV Draped female figure stg. l., with rudder and cornucopiae.

Coin is of barbarous appearance; the use of the legend "Salus" with type of Fortuna may be a mistake of the die-cutter.

16. *Maximian Hercules struck by Carausius. Antoninianus.*

Obv. IMP C MAXIMIANVS P AVG Bust radiate, draped and cuirassed, r.

Rev. SPES PVBL Spes walking l., holding flower and raising robe. $\frac{s \mid p}{c}$

Companion piece to M. & S. (Carausius, Diocletian, Maximian) 27 (of Diocletian) struck at "Camulodunum" by Carausius; see M. & S., p. 443, for remarks on these coins.

17. *Allectus*. Antoninianus.

Obv. IMP C ALLECTVS PIV F AVG Bust radiate, draped and cuirassed, r.

Rev. PAX AVG Pax stg. l., holding olive-branch and vertical sceptre. $\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$

Cf. M. & S. 85-8. Mint, "Camulodunum". A.D. 293-296.

This is a new form of obverse legend.

18. *Constantine I*.

Obv. CONSTANTINIVS MAX AVG Bust with two rows of pearls, draped and cuirassed, r.

Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS Soldiers with two standards.

$\frac{I}{TR \cdot P}$

Ref. Cohen 256. Mint, Treviri. A.D. 330-333.

Diadem of pearls is not recorded by Maurice or Voetter. The possibility that this might belong to Constantine II is excluded by the mint-mark which does not appear to have been used after the elevation of Constans Caesar, unless, of course, the coin be a hybrid.

19. *Barbarous imitation of FEL TEMP REPARATIO of Constantius II*.

Obv. ANTIVS Large head on small bust with long ties of wreath or diadem r.

Rev. TEMPP STE Warrior spearing horseman.

20. *Barbarous*.

Obv. Legend illegible. Tall radiate bust r.

Rev. Illegible. Traces of jug.

21. *Barbarous.*

Obv. Legend illegible. Radiate head, draped and cuirassed, r.

Rev. "Pax" type.

Flat fabric, oval shape, clipped, shallow impression.

22. *Barbarous.*

Obv. Radiate head r.

Rev. Centaur galloping r. playing pipes (?); on r. dot in circle, and dots.

Thin convex fabric, miniature copy of type of Gallienus.

23. *Barbarous.*

Obv. TS I Radiate head r.

Rev. . . . vs . . . Figure seated l., holding sceptre in l. hand, and patera in extended r.; to l., snake rising from altar.

Head of Tetricus Senior type; for reverse, cf. "Salus" seated type of Carausius (M. & S. 401).

24. *Barbarous.*

Obv. Vertical strokes imitating legend around circumference. Radiate head r.

Rev. IV IT Barbarous figure standing front, holding spear (?) in r. hand.

25. *Barbarous Minim.*

Obv. Bust radiate, draped, r.: garment has a line of three roundels down its front edge.

Rev. No legend, design in circle of dots, figure on horse walking r. In exergue LI (?).

J. S. KIRKMAN.

IV.

SCHLICK OF BASSANO.

[SEE PLATES VI-VII.]

MUCH has been written about the ancient family of Schlick. Its members occupy many pages in the usual books of reference, Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Biographie*, and the similar Austrian work, C. von Wurzbach's *Biographisches Lexikon*. It is true they are passed over in silence by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. They were the owners of a valley on the Bohemian border, containing rich silver mines, from which the taler, probably the most famous coin in history, takes its name. The object of this paper is to discuss the connexion of the family with the old town of Bassano in Italy and the appearance of its arms on their coins.

My attention was directed to the subject in this way. In the *Numismatic Circular* some geographical notes by the writer arranged alphabetically are appearing, the intention being nothing more ambitious than to give the situation of each place and brief particulars of its owners and their coats of arms. The name Bassano appeared in its proper order, though like some other places beginning with B it might also have been entered under the letter P (Passaun). The description of its arms was taken from Grote's *Stammtafeln*, where on page 414 under the name Schlick we find "Passaun, Italian Bassano in Friuli, Arms (since 1433 13/7) two panthers (griffins without wings) facing

inwards, supporting between them a crenellated tower red on white". The atlas fails to show any Bassano or Passaun in Friuli, but there is the ancient city of Bassano on the Brenta, near Vicenza and Treviso, in Venetia. At first sight it seems improbable that the Passaun from which the Schlicks took the title of Graf should be this Bassano. The scope of the geographical notes mentioned quite precludes the discussion of doubtful points. One must rely on some good authority, so the information taken from Grote was inserted with hesitation. Some months later an inquiry from an exalted source in Italy for further particulars of coins of Bassano made it necessary to take up the matter more seriously. In Siebmacher's *Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch* (Nürnberg, 1886), Band IV, Abteilung 9, p. 168, are shown the arms of Old Schlick and New Schlick as follows: "1 and 4, red, divided by a silver triangular peak (Spitz) reaching to the top, each section containing a ring in the opposite colour (Schlick); 2 and 3, on silver battlemented red tower with two windows and a door, supported on both sides by two double-tailed red lions." The second coat or New Schlick is given thus: "Quartered with a silver heart shield" (escutcheon of pretence) "in which supported by two crowned double-tailed red lions is a red pillar with golden crown and socle 'verballhornt Bassano'" (i.e. Bassano bungled or made worse by inaccurate correction), "the main shield 1 and 4 Old Schlick" (i.e. the silver triangle and rings) "2 and 3 a double-tailed golden lion right holding a white red-roofed church with a similar tower with a pointed roof for Weisskirchen." This agrees in the main with Grote, i.e. the arms of the Bassano connected with the

Schlick family are a red tower or pillar with or without a golden crown on a silver ground supported by two panthers or double-tailed red lionseither crowned or not. Unfortunately other authorities take a different view. The well-known *Beschreibung der bisher bekannten Böhmischen Privatmünzen und Medaillen* published by the Verein für Numismatik in Prag (1852), generally known as Miltner and Neumann, gives what is intended to be an exhaustive account of the Schlicks and their coins. On p. 512 the coat of arms is described: "The original family coat with the arms of these two lordships" (i.e. Bassano and Weisskirchen) "makes up the coat of arms of the Counts Schlick which is quartered and provided with a heart shield. In the first and fourth blue field is the upright golden lion, holding up a silver red-roofed church with the right paw, the arms of the lordship of Weisskirchen; in the 2nd and 3rd red field, which is divided by a pointed silver triangle (Giebel), two silver rings appear about the point of the triangle, and below on the triangle the 3rd red ring for the lordship Bassano; in the silver heart shield is the blue gold-crowned pillar, erect on a golden pedestal and supported by two red lions, the original family arms." Disregarding differences in colour, there is here a distinct contradiction. Miltner and Neumann say that the triangle and three rings are the arms of Bassano while Siebmacher ascribes to that county the tower or pillar and lions. E. H. Kneschke also in *Deutsche Grafenhäuser* (Leipzig, 1853) "Arms quartered with a middle shield. In a silver middle shield a red pillar embraced (umfasst) by two crowned red lions (Family Arms), 1 and 4 on red a concave silver triangle (Spitz) on which and also on each side a ring

with opposite colours (County of Bassano, Passaun), 2 and 3 blue a golden lion holding in the forepaws a small silver church (for County of Weisskirchen).” Likewise C. v. Wurzbach in the *Biographisches Lexikon*: “A quartered shield with a middle shield in the silver field of which two red crowned lions climbing up (aufsteigend) opposite one another hold a red gold-crowned pillar; 1 and 4, on a red ground a silver erect concave (eingerundete) triangle set with a red ring and accompanied by two silver rings on its sides; 2 and 3, on blue a golden rampant lion right holding with both forepaws a whitered-roofed church. Both quarters signify the lordships of Bassano and Weisskirchen.”

Eduard Fiala is best known to us through his monumental work on the coins of Brunswick.¹ He had, however, made a special study of Bohemian coins.² He edited the memorial catalogue of Donebauer's coins³ and wrote a memoir on the coinage of the Counts of Schlick.⁴ In the preface to the latter he says that for the preparation of his description of Max Donebauer's coins he was obliged to undertake extensive studies to throw light on dark places in Bohemian numismatics, and had collected a mass of material containing important facts about the Schlicks and their coins. It is surprising that he should adopt what I believe to be the wrong opinion and that he does not seem to be aware

¹ *Münzen und Medaillen der Welfischen Lande*. 8 vols., Prag, 1904-1917.

² *Böhmische Denare*, Prag, 1902; *Beschreibung böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Prag, 1891.

³ *Beschreibung der Sammlung böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen des Max Donebauer*, Prag, 1890.

⁴ “Das Münzwesen der Grafen Schlick” in *Num. Ztschr.*, vol. xxii, Vienna, 1899.

of any other view. In vol. ii, p. 392, of Donebauer he says "in the first and fourth field a lion with a church for Weisskirchen, 2nd and 3rd, a field divided by a triangle with 2 rings and a 3rd for Bassano; in a heart shield a crowned pillar erected on a pedestal and supported by two lions (the original family arms)." Where professional writers were wrong one must not expect greater accuracy even from the most learned and experienced coin-dealers when they were preparing sale catalogues. Erbstein in the auction list of Schulthess-Rechberg's coins (1869) and Hess in the *Reimann Catalogue* (1892) follow the opinion that the triangle and rings represent Bassano. These writers must all have copied one another without thinking much of what they were writing. This leads to a curious contradiction in Miltner and Neumann. Where a coin has only the triangle and rings, as is usually the case with the half and quarter talers, they speak of the simple original Schlick arms, though in the text, as we have seen, these are called the arms of Bassano (e.g. Pl. XLVI, 391) [Pl. VI. 4].

If these mistakes were made, it was not for want of warning. In the *Münzbelustigung* as far back as 1744⁵ Köhler prides himself on putting right everyone who had gone before him. He gives a copper plate of a taler dated 1716 of Franz Joseph Schlick, showing the arms in the invariable order of New Schlick, i.e. quarterly 1 and 4 Weisskirchen; 2 and 3, the triangle and rings and the middle shield. Of the triangle and rings he says, "This is the old coat of the Schlick family. For this I rely on the grant of arms

⁵ Vol. xvi, pp. 49 ff.

made in 1416 by Kaiser Sigismund to the renowned and honourable Henry Schlick and to Caspar his legitimate son, the Emperor's secretary, in which it is said that the Kaiser not only confirms these arms, viz.—a red shield and in the middle a white peak (Zwick) which they had hitherto borne and which had come to them from their ancestors, but also renews them with the addition of a white ring on each side and a red ring in the middle of the white peak, &c. On the strength of this I must differ from all those who hitherto have represented these arms as those of the county of Passaun or Bassano in the Tarviser Mark (district of Treviso). I consider that these are found in the middle shield, which on this taler shows plainly a tower or castle with three crenellations at the top and an open door at the bottom supported by a griffin on each side. The common description has been 'In the middle shield two upright crowned lions have a pillar between them in a silver field, being the family arms of Schlick'." There was thus an issue raised. Köhler as far back as 1744 says that the castle or pillar with two griffins, panthers, or lions represents Bassano: all other writers before, and most since, say that it is the shield of the Schlick family. A young judge was once advised by an experienced colleague: "Give your decision but don't give your reasons." Köhler ought to have followed this counsel. He says the middle shield has the chief position in a coat of arms, and therefore it is natural for it to represent Bassano the chief county from which the Schlicks took their title. He is wrong here. In a kingdom such as Poland or in a bishopric, the middle shield usually represents the family arms of the bishop or

king. There are exceptions. In the talers of George of Brunswick, Archbishop of Bremen, the family arms fill the main shield and his archbishopric and two bishoprics are relegated to the middle shield [Pl. VI. 1].

The points on which Köhler differs from so many ancient and modern writers are: (1) the castle and lions are the arms of Bassano, whereas they consider them the original arms of the Schlick family before they obtained Bassano; (2) the lions are not lions but panthers; (3) the pillar is a castle. I intend to support Köhler on the first point, to abandon him on the second, and to compromise on the third. The panther is not *felis pardus*, but is a griffin without wings. A griffin is the offspring of the eagle and the lion. Its form can be seen on the larger coins of Styria and on those of Rostock [Pl. VI. 2], but in the narrow dimensions of a small middle shield two panthers cannot be distinguished from two lions. The object supported also is variously represented and appears as a castle of various sizes and as a pillar of various lengths with or without a pedestal. There remains the first and most important point, whether the tower and lions belong to Bassano and if this was the Bassano in Italy or some village called Passaun in Bohemia. Köhler appealed to a grant of arms in 1416. We must examine it, if it can be found.

"The origin and earliest genealogy of the Schlicks remains doubtful and incomplete", says a writer in the *Deutsche allgemeine Biographie*, Band 31, p. 505. Under the name of Slicher they lived in the neighbourhood of Oelsnitz and Plauen in the thirteenth century. Godefried Slicher witnesses a deed in 1250. A few

years later he is called Herr Godefried, and from 1266 is known as Slicher or Slick of Lasan, a place between Plauen and Oelsnitz, and not Lažan in the Egerland. This was a natural mistake as it seems that some members of the family soon moved to Eger or Cheb. This town, recently much in the news, is not geographically in Bohemia but belonged to the Kaiser either as Emperor or as King of Bohemia. In 1394 Henry Slick appears in the public records of Eger as the principal citizen of the town, and also as the husband of an Italian lady of high rank, Constance daughter of the Count of Collalto, formerly Marchese of Treviso, i.e. of the Tarviser Mark, mentioned by Köhler as containing the town of Bassano. The authority of the Emperor in north Italy was little more than nominal, and this district after changing hands many times, fell under the rule of Venice about 1404. The *Enciclopedia Italiana* does not mention the Schlick family in its article on Bassano del Grappa, as it is now called, vol. vi, p. 336. Henry distinguished himself by fighting in Hungary and elsewhere. His five sons inherited and acquired lordships and possessions from their mother's and father's side alike. The rapid rise of Caspar the eldest seemed extraordinary to contemporaries, such as Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II, who himself owed his first important preferment to Schlick influence. In his *Historia Bohemiae* (cap. 53), Aeneas Sylvius describes the great ability of Caspar who was chancellor to three Caesars of such different character as Sigismund of Luxemburg, Albert of Habsburg, and Frederick III. He married the daughter of a Silesian prince, the Duke of Oels. As a secretary or amanuensis he accompanied Sigismund to

the Council of Constanz 1415, to Spain, and to England. We can trace their movements in Altmann's *Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds, 1410-1437*. The documents are numerous and interesting, and to many of them Caspar appears as a witness. From our point of view, the most important was signed at Canterbury on the Thursday after the Assumption, i.e. 20 August 1416. This contained the grant, confirmation, and increase of arms quoted by Köhler. The word "confirm" implies that the family used these arms already. According to Kneschke and others, in 1392 Sigismund had already confirmed to Henry Slick as his arms a white triangle with three white rings, obviously those from which the arms confirmed at Canterbury were derived. The rise and progress of Caspar was described by Aeneas Sylvius as a thing never heard of before and seems so astonishing that attempts have been made to cast doubt upon the whole story. At first sight there are difficulties. What connexion has Eger with Bassano in Italy? An experienced numismatist in this country expressed the opinion that the Bassan or Passaun mentioned on Schlick coins must have been a village on the Bohemian border, probably near Weisskirchen, and had erroneously been connected with Bassano. It seemed improbable again that Caspar Slick would be at Canterbury of all places. In matters of textual criticism an improbable reading is more likely to be correct than a probable one because less likely to have been interpolated, and it is the same with history. The presence of Sigismund at Canterbury in August 1416 is well known. On the 20th he signed a treaty with Henry V. His visit is described in *Aus der Kanzlei Sigismunds*, ed. J. Caro, quoted in

the volume on the "Later Middle Ages" in Methuen's *History of England*. The original document of August 13 cannot be produced, as is mentioned in Altmann. The same may be said of the Diploma of 16 July 1422 signed at Vienna, creating Caspar a Freiherr and allowing him to use the arms of his mother. It seems that he never used these arms, and Altmann considers the grant to be a forgery. A fact may remain a fact even if some of the evidence brought forward in its support can be disproved. Henry Slick must have had some arms. Even if the grants of 1392 and 1416 are inaccurate in some particulars or altogether spurious, they were produced to justify some arms already possessed by the family and not some not yet adopted. I think, therefore, the triangle and rings were the family arms used in 1392 and in 1416, no matter whether they were or were not confirmed by the documents mentioned.

In 1431 Sigismund granted to Caspar the lordship of Bassano as a hereditary fief of the Empire. As this lordship, subject to the rule of Venice, already belonged to the family through the Collalto, and the Empire had lost all authority over the town and neighbourhood, this grant was only nominal. In 1434, however, on St. Wenzel's day, at Regensburg, for a loan of 11,900 Rhenish gulden, Sigismund mortgaged to Caspar and his heirs, the castle, town, and lordship of Ellbogen, the town of Schlackenwerth, the estate of Achtenstfadt, &c., with all Gerechtigkeiten, Münzen, mines, meadows, &c., and granted him further, in 1435, the estate of Falkenau. These were on the Bohemian Saxon frontier. On 30 August 1437 we have an unusual document, dated at Prag on Friday after Bartholomew,

(J. Lunig's *Reichsarchiv*, xxiii, p. 1186) by which Sigismund grants to his Kanzler, Caspar Schlick, Graf of Passaun, who had done him more than twenty years faithful service, and to his heirs, the right to strike gold and silver coins from the produce of their mines, when and where they pleased in the Holy Empire. It contains an account of the trouble and expense the family has had in developing their mines, and is addressed to all the inhabitants of the Empire. Caspar is called Graf of Bassano, a title which was first conferred on him two months later. It was beyond the power of the Emperor to give an unrestricted right to set up a mint. The grant, therefore, is regarded as spurious by some critics. It seems probable to me that Sigismund intended to grant the title of count and the Münzrecht together and did so in some form. The charter having been lost was reconstructed from Caspar's petition for these honours, to which the language seems more suited. Sigismund's illness (followed by his death) may have delayed matters and prevented the signing of the two grants at the same time.

Caspar had been very active in promoting the marriage of Elisabeth, daughter and heiress of Sigismund, with Albert of Habsburg (1422), and thereby had gained and retained the favour both of son-in-law and father-in-law, another uncommon circumstance in this history. Not to be outdone as a marriage broker, Sigismund promoted and favoured the marriage of Caspar to his relative (Muhme) Agnes, daughter of Konrad, Duke of Öls and Kosel. Another extraordinary document, dated St. James's Day, 25 July 1437, no. 11903 on p. 410 of Altmann, declares expressly that, all imperial laws to the contrary notwithstanding, Agnes

shall not lose her princely rank by this marriage, seeing that Caspar's mother was a Markgräfin of Collalta, and that the Emperor had made the acquaintance of Caspar's noble relatives in Italy. This unusual tone in an Imperial charter reminds one of a letter from a society lady asking another to call upon a new-comer who belongs to the best people, and again seems to me more likely to reflect the language of a petition from Caspar. The grant of the dignity of Reichsgraf of Passaun for Caspar and his brothers is dated at Prag on Friday after St. Simon and St. Jude 1437. Sigismund died, and after some little delay the recognition of his son-in-law Albert of Habsburg followed. Albert mortgaged the district containing the afterwards famous Joachimstal to Caspar in 1439, and this property, never redeemed, was confirmed by Vladislav in 1489. Albert likewise granted to his faithful Kanzler, Graf Caspar Schlick, the lordships of Weisskirchen and Skalitz (Neuburg) in Hungary on the Moravian frontier. On Corpus Christi day 1442, at Frankfurt, Frederick III confirmed all dignities, estates, lordships, &c., of which Caspar was owner or mortgagee. On Caspar's death 1449 these great possessions went to his eldest brother Matthew, whose three sons founded the three lines of Falkenau, Ellbogen, and Schlackenwerth. The last mentioned belonged to Caspar II, father of Stephen, Jerome II, Henry II, and Lorenz. After Caspar the Kanzler's death the close connexion with the crown ceased, and we find the Schlicks between 1471 and 1500 accepting Saxon help and inclining to renounce allegiance to the Bohemian crown and to join Saxony. In this they were not permanently successful, as local forces besieged

Ellbogen (1502), and they had to make terms of surrender. Mining had always been carried on in the mountains on both sides of the border. About 1516 very rich deposits of silver were discovered at Conradsgrün, a hamlet belonging to the Schlackenwerth counts. Stephen, the eldest brother, showed himself a man of business ability. He called to his service mining experts and workmen from Saxony and elsewhere, and founded the town of Joachimstal which soon had 400 houses. Enormous quantities of silver were produced and sold to patricians of Nürnberg at 8 florins 15 kr. the mark, a poor price, and paid for in Rhenish gulden of gold. In the midst of silver there was a great shortage of silver coin and small change. The Schlicks therefore were very anxious to set up a mint. They summoned a mint-master from Nürnberg, and an experienced die-cutter, Ulrich Gebhart, who made some specimens. They applied to King Ludwig of Bohemia and to Markgraf George of Ansbach as an intermediary. Ludwig was favourable, but the Bohemian estates were not. The nobles were perhaps envious of the too great prosperity of the Schlicks. They suggested that the Schlicks were only mortgagees of the mines not owners, that the mortgage belonged to the whole family and not only to the Schlackenwerth line. At Prag in the archives there is a document dated 25 January 1520 by which the Schlicks agree to give seven groschen from each mark to certain nobles, perhaps to obtain their help. The decision of the Landtag in 1520 allows the counts to strike groschen like those of Kuttenberg and also larger groschen of the value of a Rhenish gulden, and halves and quarters, with the titles of the king on the

obverse, and on the reverse the figure of St. Joachim and the arms of the Herren Schlick. The earliest pieces seem to have been issued at least a year or two, perhaps four or five years, before this permission was obtained. There now appeared a flood of Schlick talers, at first undated and in semi-Gothic script, also halves and quarters, few of which have survived. The Gothic traces soon disappeared and improvements were made in the figure of St. Joachim. These coins soon became well known and popular in business circles [Pl. VI, 4-7]. They were known as Joachims-talergroschen or Guldengroschen, Talergroschen, or simply Talers. In a little book published by authority in the Netherlands in 1548 giving the value of the best-known foreign coins, out of twenty-four talers three are of Schlick and four others of Ferdinand of the same type, while there is not one of Brandenburg, Pfalz, or the Rhenish archbishops.

The Turks advanced in Hungary. King Louis died in or after the battle of Mohacz. Count Stephen disappeared. His body was not found, but no doubt he shared the fate of his king. His widow and his brothers kept his name on coins for a year or more. They sent agents to Constantinople to inquire if he had been made a prisoner. At last they gave up hope and issued several medals in memory of his death [Pl. VI. 3] (Miltner and Neumann, Pl. XLVIII, No. 407).

There had always been much trouble among the miners, and the Schlicks had difficulty in keeping order. In 1528 the Landtag of Budweis reserved the right of coinage to the new king. Ferdinand, by an agreement signed at Prag, October 1528, left the management in the hands of the family, but only the royal emblems

were to appear on the coins. No more is heard of Schlick money for a century, though there are medals. Many of the counts took the Protestant or patriotic side in the disputes with the Habsburg kings. To this we may attribute the appearance of medals, about 1532, with the head of Stephen on one side and the figure of Huss on the other. Jerome II ceded Ellbogen and all that his great uncle Caspar had received from Sigismund to Ferdinand again. Several members of the family were prominent on the side of the Bohemian Estates and the Protestant princes in the war of 1547. Some were imprisoned in Prag. Albin died in exile. Maurice, son of Stephen, had to cede the town of Plan and all his hereditary property, but in 1575 a few years before his death they were returned to him by Maximilian. Not satisfied with these unfortunate efforts the Schlicks continued to be Bohemian leaders. John Albin and Joachim Andrew were prominent patriots or rebels in 1618, and held high positions in the Bohemian government. After the battle of the White Mountain, one lost his estates of Falkenau and Duppau and the other his head. A jetton given in Miltner and Neumann, No. 440, Pl. LII, spells the name of Joachim Andrew "Sslik" in the Czech way and calls him SVPREMVS REGNI BOHEMIÆ IVDEX. Meanwhile, a crowd of Germans, Irish, and Italians, and other Bohemians, who had changed sides betimes, were enriched with lands confiscated from the Czech nobles. It is not surprising that the title-deeds of prominent patriots at this time disappeared or were regarded as spurious. Henry III, son of Stephen's brother Henry, had been imprisoned at Prag after the Schmalkaldic War, but his descendants were more fortunate. His

grandson Henry IV, like many of his race, was a born fighter, and at first not particular which side he took. In 1618 he commanded an infantry regiment for the estates of Moravia. Ferdinand wished to use these troops against Bohemia, but the Moravians refused. After the White Mountain, Henry passed to the service of the emperor. He continued fighting on the imperial side for many years and took a leading part in the defeat of the Danes [Pl. VII. 1].

In 1627 there appeared the first of a long series of coins in his name, though we have not the original of the Majestätsbrief by Ferdinand II allowing him to strike them. On September 24, 1641, at Regensburg Ferdinand III confirmed all rights and privileges granted to Henry and his ancestors, as the earlier documents (according to the Count) had been destroyed in an outbreak of fire. In this confirmation is a not quite authentic Insertum whereby King Sigismund on Friday after Bartholomew 1437 granted the right of coinage to Kaspar and his brothers. In 1646, January 20, at Lenz, Ferdinand III granted a new Münzprivilegium according to Hormaier's *Archiv für Statistik und Geschichte*, 1826 (no. 88), though it does not seem to have been necessary. Henry set up his own mint at Plan, and in 1628 we have a contract with a mint-master [Pl. VII. 4]. John Cändler of Atzenzoll was not very successful in his representations of the tower on the coins and it was often changing its shape and size in his time and that of his successors. Henry's son, Franz Ernst, wished to be a Carthusian and began his novitiate. Henry, by his will and codicil dated in 1649 and 1650, left his estates to his daughter with remainder to his

cousin William Henry, great-great-grandson of Stephen's youngest brother Laurence. In 1651 Franz Ernst accepted a pension by agreement with his sisters. Some of the family, however, did not take his vocation as a priest seriously, as there are coins in his name dated 1651. The next year he left the order and took up his secular position as Graf, 1652 [Pl. VII. 2].

It is impossible in a short space to give the history of the Grafen. Franz Joseph Wenzel, whose coin is shown by Köhler, was the eldest son of Franz Ernst. He died at a great age in 1740. The counts no longer kept up their own mint but had a right to use that of the king. In the index of the k.k. Münzamt at Prag in 1759 there is an official entry: "Schlick, Herr Franz Heinrich, Graf von, may strike 2,000 florins in gold and 2,000 fl. in silver with his own name and device on supplying the metal and paying the cost" [Pl. VII. 3]. In the eighteenth century talers were usually struck only once during each lifetime. Leopold Henry was the last to strike coins apart from medals (1767) [Pl. VII. 7]. His son Joseph Henry was ambassador to Denmark about 1786. He neglected his right of coining, and it was considered obsolete when Franz Henry II (1788-1862) wished to make use of it. This count was the famous general of the nineteenth century. In 1855 in an account of his exploits in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* he was spoken of as a German. He took objection to this and declared that he was a Slav and a Czech. Though Eger might be almost a German town the Graf said he did not come from there, but that his ancestors carried on mining near Joachimstal. In this he agrees with the Bohemian

and Austrian authors quoted above. They ascribe to the family a Czech ancestry.

As to Köhler's third point, on which I expressed a wish to be neutral, an examination of the coins will show all kinds of castles and pillars, sometimes so small that the lions hold them up in their paws like pepper castors [Pl. VII. 4], sometimes so tall that the lions seem to be climbing up the sides [Pl. VII. 3]. The object is more like a pillar in the sixteenth century [Pl. VII. 5], more of a castle in the seventeenth century [Pl. VII. 6], and in the last taler, that of 1767, it becomes a somewhat elaborate castle in two stories [Pl. VII. 7].

Köhler appealed to the past to show that the triangle and rings were the family arms of Schlick, and therefore the tower and lions must represent Bassano. It occurred to me to turn to the present for proof that the tower and lions are the arms of Bassano and therefore the triangle and rings must represent Schlick. The town of Bassano still exists. If it is the same as the Passaun on Schlick coins it should still have the same arms. If we find that the castle and lions are still used at Bassano that should settle both points. The *Enciclopedia Italiana* does not give the present Bassano arms, nor did I know of any handy book of reference containing that kind of information. I turned to an Italian friend in London whose name suggests that his ancestors came from Bassano. On his advice I wrote to the sindaco of the city requesting information about its arms. The worshipful mayor, who bears the ancient title of podestà, passed on my letter to Signor dottore P. M. Tua, director of the local museum. When the learned doctor replied, doubts

were removed, even before I read the letter, for there on the top of the paper was the official coat of arms of Bassano del Grappa, a crenellated tower supported by two lions, standing on a platform of three layers of bricks. The director wrote:—

L'arme del comune di Bassano del Grappa, della quale unisco uno schizzo a penna, è così blasonata: "D'oro: alla torre quadrata di rosso, sostenuta da tre gradini dello stesso, merlata alla ghibellina, la merlatura sostenuta da un ordine di travicelli sporgenti, aperta del campo di un pezzo, finestrata dello stesso pure di un pezzo, fabbricata di nero, accostata da due leoni di rosso. Corona ducale.

There are differences in colour or metal, as the tower is represented as red on gold, with one door and one window open to the field, i.e. showing the gold of the field, whereas the Passaun arms of the Schlick family are generally given as a red tower with red single or double-tailed crowned or uncrowned lions on a silver field. At Bassano del Grappa there is also a red chief with Fascist symbols in gold and silver. These are a modern addition. It is clear, I think, that the early Slicks really were or thought they were connected with Bassano and they used the same arms. In conclusion I should like to thank Professor Bassani of University College for putting me on the right track, and the learned director for supplying the information.

W. OWSTON SMITH.

V.

THE MINT OF BAMBURGH CASTLE.

THE political confusion and internecine strife which marked the reign of Stephen are clearly reflected in the coinage of the period, and the various monetary issues offer a constant series of problems, some of which have been solved with more or less success, but others are still unsettled. Of the latter, that presented by a small and comparatively unimportant issue of coins has for some time attracted the attention of the present writer, who has prepared the following notes on the subject.

That Henry, the son of David I of Scotland, should have issued coins from English mints is not in itself remarkable, for, as Dr. G. C. Brooke says, "the coinage of the Scottish Border has a special interest owing to the frequent transfer of the mints from English to Scottish control and *vice versa*".¹ Whether the word "frequent" is justified may be open to doubt, but certainly the mints of Carlisle and Berwick did suffer changes of control due to political reasons. Of the other Border mints, Corbridge seems to have issued a limited coinage for Prince Henry only, unless (though this is a point outside the scope of this paper) some of the *stycas* of the earlier Northumbrian kings may have been coined there. The coins at present under consideration, however, are those issued by Prince Henry both in his own name and that of Stephen, which have in the past been variously attributed to Outchester,

¹ *English Coins*, p. 92.

Newcastle, or Bamburgh. They may be summarized as under, taking as a basis the specimens enumerated in the British Museum Catalogue:²

Type I:

Obv. +M·EMCI:COM Bust of Prince Henry, r., with sceptre.

Rev. +WILEL:M:ON CI:B³ Cross crosslet, in each quarter of which a cross pattée connected by a loop to the inner circle.

Type II:

Obv. +STIFENE RE Bust r., with sceptre.

Rev. Similar to Type I.

Type III:

Obv. +STIFENE RE Bust r., with sceptre.

Rev. +WILELM:ON:CAST Long voided cross, in each angle of which a fleur-de-lys pointing inwards and attached by a cusp-like ornament to the inner circle.

All these coins are rare and appear to be almost entirely derived from the Outchester find, which was, unfortunately, very inadequately recorded. The *Northumberland County History*⁴ says that "about the year 1820 a large hoard of silver pennies was discovered at Outchester. The pennies were principally of David I of Scotland, but a few were of Henry the Earl. The greater part was claimed by the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, but of these coins no trace can be found.⁵ Many, however, got into private hands and have become known." It is not certain that all three types occurred in the hoard, but the present author

² *Norman Kings*, vol. i, pp. xcvi and xcix, Pl. LIX, 1-4.

³ Slight variations occur in the reverse legends of all three types.

⁴ Vol. i, Bamburgh, p. 199; cf. also Edward Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, i, 38.

⁵ They were presented by the commissioners to the British Museum.

assumes that they did: the presence or otherwise of Type III with the others does not affect the arguments now put forward.

For the purposes of this paper, Types I and II can be considered together, as the obverse readings present no difficulty. The legend of Type I may be expanded into HENRICI : COMITIS (or some similar word) = Count, implicitly of Northumberland: the obverse legend of Type II is clear. Reverting to Type I, although Longstaffe, in his postscript to the Rev. D. H. Haigh's "Coins of the Danish Kings of Northumberland"⁶ suggests that the first letter of the legend is separate from those that follow, and should be read N[ORHUMBERLAND] EN[RI]CI : CON, this expansion appears unduly exuberant; and as the identification of the issuer of the coin is not affected either by the acceptance or rejection of this reading, the point is unimportant.

It is on the question of the correct interpretation of the reverse legend that the various authorities have differed. Dr. Brooke⁷ prefers to record it WILLELM ON CI TH, reading the final letter as Ð; but even the specimen he illustrates⁸ appears to show an undoubted B, and Longstaffe had no misgivings on this point: the survival of the Anglo-Saxon letter Ð to so late a date is somewhat dubious. Brooke does not say what reading the legend, when expanded, might give: he merely suggests Outchester or Newcastle as the place of origin, making no distinction between Types I, II, and III in this attribution, although it is probable that only to

⁶ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, New Series, vol. vii, p. 75.

⁷ *English Coins*, p. 99.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. XX, No. 10.

Type III would he have assigned a possible Newcastle mintage.

It is highly unlikely that Outchester was the place of issue. Beyond its being the find-spot of the hoard above-mentioned, there is nothing to connect it with the coins, and the reverse legend of none of the three types suggests the name Outchester, which, incidentally, was known as Ulchester or Ullecestre until the beginning of the fourteenth century and probably later.

There remains the final suggestion of Bamburgh as having been the mint, and neither Longstaffe nor Burns⁹ had any doubts as to the correctness of this attribution; but the writer cannot agree with Longstaffe's expansion of the reverse legend into **WILELMUS MONETARIUS CIVITATIS BAEMBURC** (or **CIVITATIS BEBBÆ**). The word **CIVITAS** does not appear to be applicable to Bamburgh, being only employed numismatically when required to indicate a mint-place having the status of a city, i.e. the seat of a bishopric.¹⁰ The interpretation here offered is **WILELM ON C[ASTR]I B[AEMBURGI]** or **WILEL[M] M[ONETARIUS] ON C[ASTR]I B[AEMBURGI]**: either alternative is reasonable and the form of the final word is immaterial.

Now as to Type III, it is not easy to be certain of the intention of the reverse legend. There seem to be two possible readings:

WILELM : ON : [NOVO] CAST[ELLO] or
WILELM : ON : CAST[R]I BAEMBURGI]

⁹ Edward Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 35 *et seq.*

¹⁰ It should be added that early chroniclers, such as Bede and Symeon of Durham, use either *civitas*, *urbs*, or *oppidum* impartially, in referring to Bamburgh; but the numismatic use of **CIVITAS** is not general until the re-coinage of Edward I, in 1279.

Of these alternatives, the first depends on the letter N of ON being read as doing double duty, an unusual and probably unjustifiable assumption; besides, as Longstaffe points out, no mint of Newcastle was in operation until the time of the "Tealby" coinage, and it is clearly stated in the Boldon Book¹¹ that Henry II, by first establishing a mint in Newcastle, reduced the value of the Bishop of Durham's mint from ten marks to three: "Dominus Rex Henricus secundus, per cuneos quos in Novo Castello *primum* posuit, redditus x marcarum usque ad iij marcas diminuit. . . ." Of the two readings, therefore, the second is the more likely to be correct.

It will be observed that the design of the reverse of Type III resembles the ordinary "cross moline" issues of Stephen except for the long voided cross which appears to be superimposed on the rest of the pattern.¹² A close examination of all the existing coins of this type (and, indeed, of Types I and II also) might produce results well worth the trouble: but any such inquisition will have to await the return of more settled times.

The whole question seems to turn on the manner in which the provisions of the Treaty of Durham, A.D. 1139, were interpreted. By this treaty Stephen granted to Prince Henry the earldom of Northumberland, with the reservation to himself of the towns of Bamburgh and Newcastle; in place of these, other towns of equal value, in the south of England, were to be granted to the Prince. The significant clause, *exceptis*

¹¹ *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol. xxv, 1852.

¹² The reverses of Type III were probably struck from Carlisle dies of the Watford or "cross moline" type, suitably altered.

duobus oppidis, scilicet Novo Castello et Bahanburg,¹³ is usually taken to mean that the two places, with their castles, were to be retained by Stephen; but the present writer suggests that the intention was to reserve the *revenues* of the towns whilst allowing to the Prince the use of the castles for the security of his earldom. This would account for the fact, well authenticated, that these two castles were in Prince Henry's hands: two at least of his charters were granted at them, one at Newcastle to the church of Durham,¹⁴ and the other at Bamburgh to the monks of Tynemouth, freeing the peasants of their demesnes from the obligation of assisting at the building of Newcastle or any of his other castles.¹⁵ The two strongholds appear to have remained in Henry's keeping, without interference from his nominal overlord Stephen, until the Prince's death in June 1152. Bamburgh was taken back by Henry II in 1157, and Newcastle probably about the same time, as the new mint which was established there in 1158 would most likely be housed in the Castle.

To sum up, the probability is that the coins of Types I and II were struck either at Bamburgh Castle or for issue there, and those of Type III at the same place, perhaps for issue at Newcastle, but more likely intended for a Bamburgh emission. The moneyer Wilhelm, whose name appears on all three types, must have been William Fitz-Erkembald, who was son of the Carlisle moneyer and who was later himself in charge of the mints of Newcastle and Carlisle.

GILBERT ASKEW.

¹³ *De Gestis Regis Stephani*: Rolls ed. (Chron. Steph., &c., iii), p. 177.

¹⁴ *Surtees Society*, vol. xlv, cxxix.

¹⁵ *Northumberland County History*, vol. i, p. 28.

VI.
THE COINS FROM RICHBOROUGH—
A SURVEY.

RICHBOROUGH is probably the most productive source of Roman coins in the kingdom: that reputation it had many years ago, for Leland tells us there was found in Richborough hill "mo antiquites of Romayne money than in any place in England". In 1922 and the following years systematic excavations were undertaken, the coins being carefully examined and listed. As it is unlikely that further digging will be undertaken for some time, it seems now convenient to review the numismatic results achieved.

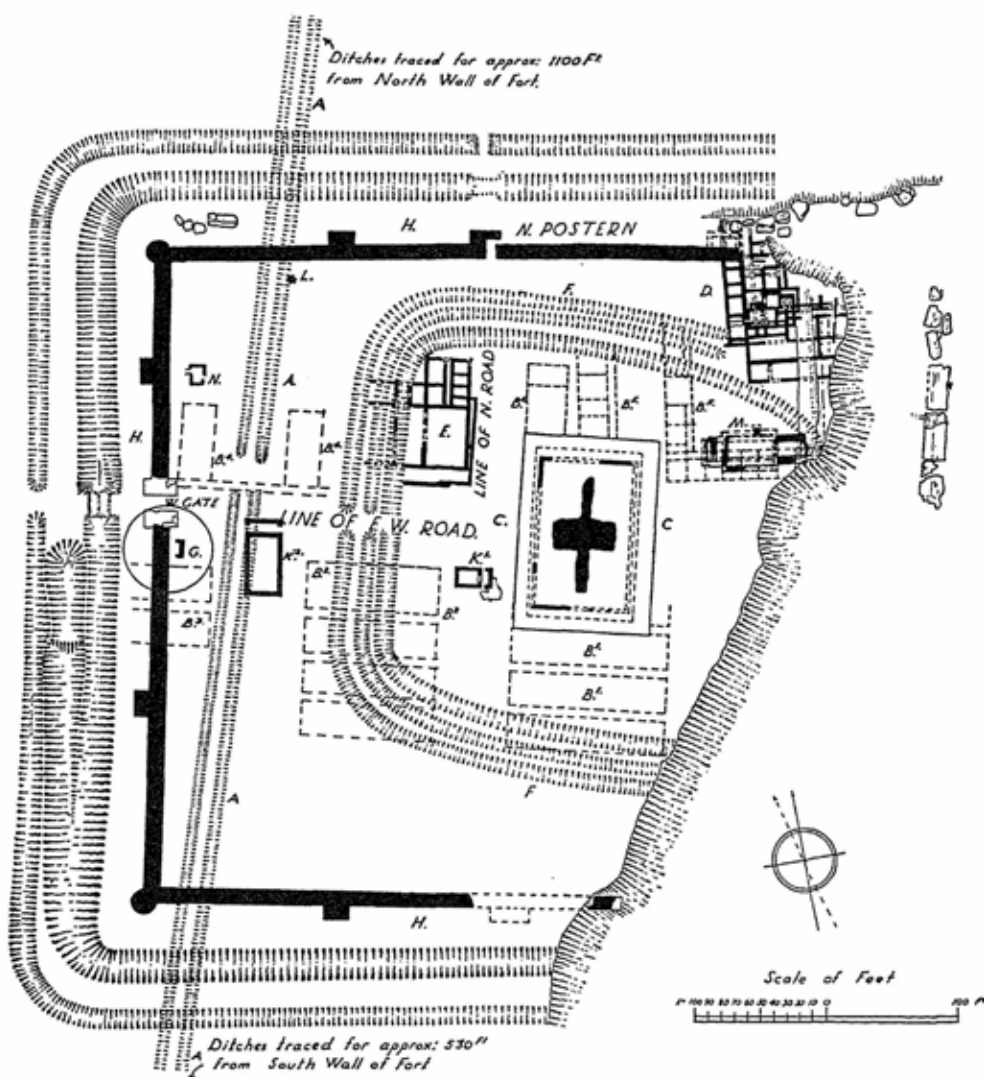
It will be convenient to give a brief outline of the history of the site as a background for the purely numismatic results. With the permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office I am, through the kindness of Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox, enabled to reproduce on p. 59 the plan of Richborough Castle from the Official Guide.¹ The first important date is A.D. 43 when the whole or part of the army of Claudius landed at Richborough, digging two long ditches (A) for its immediate defence. In a short time those were filled in, but up to the beginning of the reign of Vespasian the site was studded with wooden buildings (B), shops, granaries, storehouses, and the like, on one side or other of the main road. With the campaigns of Agricola some of the shipping may have been diverted

¹ *Official Guide to Richborough Castle*, by J. P. Bushe-Fox. London, H.M.S.O., 1936.

to the Humber, but somewhere between A.D. 80 and 90 the site was very busy. The cause was the erection of an enormously thick foundation (c), probably for a large and handsome monument. There is some reason for thinking that this was never completed. If the monument was to commemorate the conquests of Agricola, his recall may well have been the reason for neglecting it. About this time the first flint house on Site III (p) was built and the wine-cellar (n). There is evidence of considerable occupation during the second century, including a cremation-burial area in the south-west, the rebuilding of the flint house in Site III (p) and the erection of another, Site I (e).

Little is known of conditions in the earlier part of the third century. The tomb (a), however, is dated about A.D. 250, and the raids of pirates a little later were responsible for the construction of an earth fort (f) with three ditches. Later these were filled in and replaced by the still existing stone fort (h) with its double ditch. Mr. Bushe-Fox ascribes this work to Carausius. Boulogne to Richborough was the usual Channel crossing. It is known that Carausius held a fortified post at Boulogne, and that the other terminus should be fortified as well would be only natural. When Boulogne fell to Constantius Chlorus c. A.D. 292, Richborough probably became the head-quarters of the British fleet and continued so to the end of the Roman occupation. The structures erected during the fourth century or a few years earlier include a third house on Site III (p) with a bath series, a large building (κ2) with wall footings of chalk, the hexagonal structure (L), and a small temple (κ1). Two other temples have been found at the foot of Richborough Hill. To

PLAN OF RICHBOROUGH CASTLE



Reproduced by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office from the *Official Guide to Richborough Castle* by J. P. Busho-Foxe (H.M. Office of Works, 1936)

the same period belongs the well-known cross, placed nearly symmetrically on the great Flavian foundation (c). A fairly likely suggestion is that this was the base of a tower, tall enough to be seen above the walls, for the purpose of signalling to the sister forts of Dover and Reculver. A row of buildings and a cemetery of the fourth century lay on the slope to the south of the Fort. The list of the earlier buildings ends with the Saxon Chapel of St. Augustine. Some years ago two Saxon boundary stones, or gravestones, now at Canterbury, are said to have been found at Richborough, though the exact spot is not known. One bears in Runic letters a personal name which has been read as RÆHÆBVL or ROHOBVL.

There are five groups of Richborough coins :

1. Those found in 1922-1923 with some found before but known to have come from the site. They were catalogued by the late Mr. A. G. K. Hayter, and a detailed list can be found in the *First Richborough Report*.² The coin section of this is a most valuable help to a beginner, as I know from my own experience.

2. Years 1924-1925, by F. S. Salisbury and J. W. E. Pearce, Second Report.³

3. Years 1926-1927, by W. P. D. Stebbing and G. C. F. Hayter.⁴

4. Years 1928-1930, by W. P. D. Stebbing, with some aid from myself.

5. Years 1931- up to date, by myself.

² *First Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, 1926 (Soc. Ant. Lond. Research Comm. no. VI), pp. 106-73.

³ *Second Report, &c.*, 1928 (no. VII), pp. 106-231.

⁴ *Third Report, &c.*, 1932 (no. X), pp. 187-235.

For group I, 2,491 coins, the excavations did not cover a large area, but included the stripping of c. 3 ft. of surface soil and the clearing of Site I.

Group II. 16,825 coins. This large number is due to the systematic cleaning of the surface soil over nearly the whole of the northern part of the fort, while the great foundation, Site III, and St. Augustine's Chapel were fully explored and planned.

Group III. 2,897 coins. The work included little removal of surface soil.

Group IV. 15,163 coins. The period included the work of three summers and two winters. Outside the fort some 3 ft. of earth were removed as well as the filling of the stone fort ditches.

Group V. 18,163 coins. Two feet of surface soil were cleared over the southern half of the interior of the fort. The total includes nearly 2,000 coins from the two large fifth-century hoards.

The earliest coins found are 3 Greek coins, one of Cyzicus of the second century B.C., another probably of Massalia, the third being a first-century B.C. coin of unknown provenance. Then come 5 Gaulish and 11 British.

Of Republican coins there are	.	.	30
Pre-Claudian	„	„	122
Claudian	„	„	351

Many of the coins of the last three series may have been brought over in A.D. 43.

Nero, &c.	.	.	119
Flavian	.	.	331
Nerva to Commodus	.	.	456

This includes one coin each of Antoninus Pius and

Faustina I from a cremation burial. Some of the indeterminate coins of this total may be first century.

Severus to Trebonianus Gallus . . .	76
Third-century radiates to Numerianus	7,933

Some of these are small and barbarous and properly belong to the fifth century or later. In the 1931 onward group there were 1,174 of these, including the great radiate hoard.

Of the Claudius Gothicus coins 57 per cent. are the **CONSECRATIO** issues of Quintillus or later copies. This number is out of all proportion to the duration of his reign, and the cause of their survival is likely to be their small size and poor quality. The same is probably true of the coinage of the Tetrici. With the improvement of the currency under Aurelian there would be the tendency to pass on the inferior coins farther and farther away from the centre of the Empire until they reached the circumference of the circle in Britain.

Carausius and Allectus . . .	1,638
Diocletian, Maximian, &c. . .	138
Constantine I to Jovian, including VRBS ROMA, &c. . .	13,654
House of Valentinian . . .	2,415
House of Theodosius, including Maximus . . .	22,083

In the fifth group, 1931-, there are in addition 1,928 $\text{Æ} 4$ indeterminates, the very large majority of which must be of the House of Theodosius.

Constantine III . . .	3 coins
Byzantine-Constans II . . .	1 coin

The official coinage from the Continent ceases with Honorius. None of the Richborough coins can be

definitely assigned to Theodosius II, Valentinian III, &c., though one example of *SALVS REIPVBLICAE*, lately found, could be attributed to the fifth century on evidence of style.

The Theodosian coinage, on the other hand, as is well known, rises to a very high percentage of the whole number found.

In the first group the estimated percentage is 51; second, 58; third, 63; fourth, 35; fifth, 40. There are good reasons for the diminution of the percentage in the last two groups. In the earlier years of excavation a great part of the work consisted in the removal of surface layers where Theodosian coins were most abundant: in the later years, although much surface soil was dug in 1931, the depth dug was not so great, while the rest of the work was on definite sites, many of an earlier date, or right outside the fort. It may be noted here that all the Theodosian hoards were found inside, while the only Constantinian hoard was found outside the fort.

Why so few fifth-century Continental coins are found is well known. After the beginning of the century, raids of Saxon pirates and the preoccupation of the Emperors with their own troubles prevented, except spasmodically, the arrival of military aid and its natural adjunct, supplies of coin for the payment of the troops. The same causes prevented full commercial intercourse with Gaul. The Gallic mints, too, from which most of the currency came, ceased to issue bronze coinage. The Romano-Britons therefore had to use continuously the Theodosian coinage already in circulation in addition to such barbarous coins as they struck themselves. Recently it has been thought

that a reoccupation took place with the full suite of Count of Britain, Duke of Britain, and Count of the Saxon Shore, not indeed of the whole country but of parts of the south, south-east, and east. If this was so, it is likely that the Count of the Saxon Shore had his head-quarters at Richborough as was the case during the fourth century, and we should *expect* to find much Theodosian coinage. The actual number of coins, however, is greater than that of the types of the Constantinian period when the fort was of equal importance. It may be that during the last Roman occupation, the Count of Britain ruled the country from Richborough with the result of a further influx of cash.

Again, during the time of the Constantinians the south-east was under no special or acute danger from the pirates, and so there would not be any great reason for burying the small hoards of the ordinary man. But during the first half of the fifth century and a little before, local people must have been in constant fear of raids either from the sea or from marauding bands on land, and as the interior of the fort would be the safest place for their bodies, it would be natural for them to hide their little wealth there also. Many of the Theodosian coins were lost one by one, but I think that more were members of hoards buried in time of stress. The interior of the fort has been under corn or other crops for some time—it was in Camden's days, and probably for centuries—and the criss-cross ploughing year by year would scatter the small coins and carry them some way from the place where the hoard was originally hidden. There are also other ways in which small coins can be spread.

Last year at Pevensey I saw a workman take a Theodosian coin from the mud on his boots.

Now comes a period of peculiar interest. In 406 when the legions left in Britain found they could get no help from Rome, they finally, hoping that the capacity and good fortune of Constantine the Great would be reproduced in one bearing the same name, set up as Emperor a soldier whom we know as Constantine III. Now Procopius tells us that after Constantine III Britain was never recovered by the Romans but was ruled by tyrants. Collingwood, advancing the theory of a reoccupation, assumes that Procopius was misinformed. But three extraordinary coins have come to light at Richborough, all of fair size.

The first has a **VICTORIA AVGGG** reverse, on the obverse the name **PAVVNIVS**.

The other two have a **FEL TEMP REP** legionary reverse. One was issued by a "Carausius" whom we may call Carausius II.

Perhaps finding that the name of Constantine had not brought the tranquillity hoped for, the thoughts of the Britons went back a little farther to another hero under whom Britain had some measure of peace and quiet. Besides the Richborough coin at least one other specimen is known and was in the possession of our President, who I believe presented it to the British Museum, where the Richborough coin also lies.

The other **FEL TEMP REP** coin bears on its obverse the name **CENSERIS** or **GENSERIS**. This has a Teutonic sound, but it has been suggested that the R of the name, which is not quite clear, may really be a P, giving us **CENS** for some such name as **CENSORINVS**

and EPIS = the bishop, pointing to a warrior bishop of the type of St. Germanus. Of course nothing is known of these three men apart from their coins, but they must have existed and have been in a position of authority to issue these coins. The size and style of these pieces suggest a period early in the fifth century. Procopius' statement may have been a half-truth. He may have been told that Britain was ruled by tyrants, which was true, and assumed that *therefore* it was never recovered by the Romans.

In 1931 two large hoards of small coins were unearthed, usually known as the radiate hoard⁵ and the diademed hoard.⁶ A full report on each of these has been made by Mr. Mattingly and Mr. Stebbing.

The radiate hoard, 875 coins, contains a few regular coins which may be intrusive, the rest being all barbarous. Many reverses are derived from known types, others from figure types of a sort. The most important types copied are the FEL TEMP REP of the House of Constantine and the GLORIA ROMANORVM of the house of Valentinian. The existence of these groups prevents the ascription of the hoards to the third century, and the style of other groups makes the date likely to be well after Roman connexion with Britain had ceased. The authors of the report suggest the middle of the fifth century as the date, which would be the time when Hengist and Horsa were beginning the Saxonization of Britain.

Now this hoard was found in the angle formed by

⁵ *The Richborough Hoard of Radiates*, 1931, Amer. Num. Soc. Monograph no. 80, New York, 1935.

⁶ *Site-Finds from Richborough*, including a Scattered Hoard of Diademed "Minimi", in *Num. Chron.*, 1939, pp. 112-19.

the footings of a hut and some of the coins show signs of burning, and so appear to have been lost owing to the burning down of the hut.

Tradition tells us that the Jutes were first settled on Thanet and later, when they were reinforced, in the rest of Kent. Richborough must have been well known to the sea rovers and would be a more useful port to them than any other in Thanet or elsewhere. It is said that there was a comparatively great and possibly a more peaceful absorption of the native population of Kent into the Jutish kingdom, and that it was the interaction of the two civilizations that caused the abnormal rise of Jutish art. If this is so, it is not unlikely that an attempt should be made to issue a bronze coinage copying types familiar to the survivors of British blood. In addition to the coins of the hoard many radiates have been found which may have been contemporaries of it. During the period 1931-1939, 321 barbarous radiates were catalogued of which 65 were 15 mm. or more in diameter, 230 between 14½ mm. and 10½ mm., and 26 10 mm. or less. Some of them are definitely of fifth-century type.

The diademed hoard. Coins of one hoard or a combination of several hoards were found also in 1931, in the south-west angle of the fort, not very far away from the site of the radiate hoard. It is thought that they had been contained in an earthen vessel hidden in the rafters of a wattle and daub hut which was burnt down, and its contents scattered. 1,221 coins were collected, but it is likely that some were missed. Of this total, 23 were from regular mints—Gallienus to Magnentius—225 barbarous copies of known coins, 120 of miscellaneous definite types, while the rest

were indeterminate. Some of these were as small as 5 mm. in diameter. A fair number of these minimisimi, if one may call them so, have been found in surface deposits apart from the hoard. Of the barbarous copies of known coins the **FEL TEMP REP** legionary reverse is the one most commonly found; others occurring in some numbers are the **GLORIA EXERCITVS** one standard, **CONSTANTINOPOLIS**, and **VRBS ROMA** types. Now minims of these types are common in surface deposits. In the group 1931-1939 we have :

	Æ 3	Æ 4	Æ 5
GLORIA EXERCITVS one standard	83	275	141
CONSTANTINOPOLIS	170	443	119
VRBS ROMA	135	384	75
FEL TEMP REP	56	175	153

I do not think that all these Æ 5 coins can be put down to the fifth century. Some of them, though small, are well struck and look more like official coins of small denomination than locally struck pieces of higher value whose small size is due to the inflated value of metal. There are also many examples of Constantinian hybrids, those mules of coins issued by Constantine I in A.D. 330, &c. In the Richborough series there are several with the **PAX PVBLICA** reverse of Helena and with a **CONSTANTINOPOLIS** or **VRBS ROMA** obverse. Then one has a **CONSTANTINOPOLIS** obverse with the star of **POP ROMANVS** on the reverse. More unexpected are two coins with *obv.* helmeted head l., one definitely **VRBS ROMA**, and *rev.* a camp gate as on the **SPES ROMANORVM** coins of Maximus. This reverse, however, may have been prompted by the **PROVIDENTIAE** coins of the Constantinians.

The hoard must belong to a time when the supply of metal was at a minimum, and if the radiate hoard can be assigned to somewhere about the middle of the fifth century, we may tentatively put the date of the diademed hoard to somewhere about the end. As is well known, hoards comparable with this have been found at Lydney and at Bourton-on-the-Water. The derivation of so many of these barbarous coins from Roman originals suggests a survival or a revival of Romano-British feeling. It is noteworthy that at the end of the fifth century the Saxon advance appears to have received some sort of check associated with the name of Ambrosius or in the legends with Arthur. The existence of these hoards at places as wide apart as Lydney and Richborough suggests that the check was real and widespread.

When Pit 314 was dug in 1934, the remains of three skeletons were found together with some interesting bronze ornaments, &c.⁷ The pottery above and below was fourth century, the coins were radiates to House of Theodosius. But at the level of the bones there was in addition a small coin of 8 mm. diameter rather similar to some in the hoard. It looks as if the pit had been filled in at the end of the fourth century, but sometime or other the top filling had been taken out, the bodies thrown in anyhow and the filling replaced. This may or may not bear on the question, but it is interesting and deserves to be noted.

The coin story is taken up again by Saxon sceattas

⁷ Including two trinket boxes, one inlaid with jet, the other plated with bronze with conical knobs. The latter type of ornament seems to have been used from the first to fourth century A.D.

of the seventh century, followed by pennies of Offa and Cynethryth his wife and of Eadwald, King of East Anglia, of whom nothing is known except his coins. Then last summer a styca of Eanred of Northumbria was found, moneyer Aldates, of the first half of the ninth century. Then we have coins of Edred, Canute, and kings of England down to modern times. I may note here the following seventeenth-century tradesmen's tokens :

William Keylock, goldsmith of Dover.
Will Terrey of the Globe of Canterbury
John Vanderbrouck, merchant of Sandwich
Guy Langdon grocer of Hythe.

Hoards. I have already discussed the two great hoards. Altogether fifteen have been found great and small, the coins being in all cases but one of bronze.

Numbers 1-8 are of the Theodosian period. The largest has 1,202 and the smallest 66 coins, the Theodosian percentage ranging from 86 to 92 of identifiable coins, with an average of 88. All these were found inside the fort.

No. 9, Pit 204, 79 coins. This contains 68 Constantinian coins, the latest being the **FEL TEMP REP** phoenix type. The Constantinian percentage is 92. The pit is outside the fort and beyond the ditches.

No. 10. The earliest of the smaller hoards consists of 16 Sestertii of Claudius I which were found corroded together in Pit 20.

No. 11. In the Outer Ditch of the Stone Fort a small number of coins, perhaps 11, were found in a little pocket on the inner side about a third of the way down. They were badly corroded, but eight were identified as Antoniniani of Carausius and one of the elder

Tetricus. When this was found the filling of the ditch had been removed, and the pocket was in the natural sand.

No. 12. Six coins of Allectus were collected close together from the upper part of the filling of the Middle Earth Fort Ditch. These two hoards, small as they are, are of great importance, as they indicate that the Earth Fort Ditches were filled at the time of Allectus and the Stone Fort Ditches dug by the reign of Carausius, facts which confirm Mr. Bushe-Fox's opinion that the Earth Fort was filled up and the Stone Fort constructed at one and the same time by Carausius.

No. 13. This hoard, if it can be called a hoard, was found in 1933 in the top of Pit 293. It consists of between one and two hundred **PROVIDENTIAE** coins of Constantine with the camp gate reverse, corroded together in a mass which has kept something of the shape of the purse in which it was contained when lost. It does not look like a deliberate hoard.

Nos. 14, 15 are the two fifth-century hoards.

Countermarks. These were often for the use of troops at the front in order that local coins, and I think badly worn coins, could be used when the men returned home. One campaign when coins are likely to have been thus countermarked is that of A.D. 43, and it is not surprising that some examples have been found at Richborough.

The most interesting is the triple mark of Germanicus **IMP AVG**, **TIB IM** and the monogram of **CAESAR**. The British Museum list gives this on coins of **P. LVRIVS AGRIPPA**, but the Richborough coin is quite smooth apart from the countermark. There are several

of Claudius, **RP** (retrograde) of Vindex on a coin of Nero and a bull's head on a Trajan coin. A **C.A** counter-mark of Augustus refers to Cologne. It must be remembered that three of the invading legions came from the Rhine.

A few words about individual coins. I shall not refer to those of Groups I, II, and III, as they are published in Richborough reports. From nos. IV and V the most interesting is a unique aureus of Carinus and Numerianus with *rev.* Victory r. instead of l. as in M. & S.⁸ Carinus 300. One solidus each of Magnentius and Gratian and several of Arcadius and Honorius were also found. A discovery which caused much excitement was that of two silver coins of Carausius, **FELICITA** with a galley, in mint condition, bearing the mint-mark **RSR**. It was hoped that further evidence would be forthcoming to support the claim that has been made that **RSR** is the mark of a Richborough mint. Other coins with that mint-mark have been found individually, but I am afraid that the evidence is not sufficient. All the same, Richborough is a place where one might have expected to find the mint, especially as some of the reverses have naval or military inferences.

I have noted 88 coins in Groups IV and V which cannot be found in M. & S. or in Cohen, many of which, however, only show slight variation. Carausius provides the bulk of these with a score of 48. In most the differences are small, e.g. **P F I AVG** for **P F IN AVG** or else new mint-mark forms. There are two coins of Vespasian, one having **CAESAR** for **CAES**, to

⁸ Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*.

balance which the other has **CAES** for **CAESAR**. The coins of Gallienus and Claudius II include several with new mint-marks. Among later coins the most interesting is a **FELICITAS REIPVBLICE** of Valentinian I, mint-mark **SMAQP**, with *rev.* Victory as with **SECVRITAS**, which has not been seen before. A **GLORIA ROMANORVM** of Valens appears to have a new mint-mark **TRS.** A **SPES ROMANORVM** of Victor, mint-mark **SCON**, is not given in J. W. E. Pearce's treatise,⁹ but it seems to be known to him. Another unique coin is a **GLORIA ROMANORVM**

of Valentinian II with mint-mark $\frac{V | A}{PCON}$. Two

VICTORIA AVGGG coins of Valentinian II are new, one having mint-mark **RT**, the other **TR**, though in the latter case the *rev.* legend is divided **VICTOR-IA** instead of the **VICTORI-A** usual for that mint. In one of the hoards I found an Arcadius coin, **VOT V MVLTX** of Aquileia, never before recorded: another

with the same reverse mint-mark $\frac{\bullet}{RP}$ was found in a

surface deposit a year or two later, and I have recently noted a third in a hoard at the Norwich Castle Museum. Another Arcadius coin may have **D N ARCADI AVG**, but the reading is not certain. Mr. J. W. E. Pearce detected some **SALVS** coins of **HONORIVS** divided **HONOR IVS**, while a single Victory coin of the same emperor has **D N HONORIVS P F AVG**.

There is one other group to which I must give just a passing reference. Roach Smith, in his *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lympne*, mentions that

⁹ *The Roman Coinage from A.D. 364 to 423*, London, 1933.

some 2,000 Richborough coins were in the collections of Mr. Reader and Mr. Rolfe of Sandwich. He describes 1,297 of them. Incidentally he estimates that about 140,000 coins have been found at Richborough since the departure of the legions. Many of the separate coins are of great interest, but as their present location is as a rule not known, it is of no use to discuss them.

The following, however, must be noted :

VERICA. *Ab.* Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, Pl. III, fig. V.

CALIGULA. Two examples of M. & S. 80 with counter-mark CENP.

VICTORINUS. *Rev.* VIRTVS AVGG. A vase (noted as unpublished).

CARAUSIUS. *Rev.* MERCVRIO CONS AVG.

Rev. VIC AVG. A female figure holding double axe.

There were also gold coins of Nero (2) (M. & S. 27, 45), Carinus (M. & S. 211), Valens C 31, Arcadius and Honorius.

To come back to my five coin groups. The coins of the first three, that is, those found from 1922 to 1927, were examined at the British Museum and such as were wanted for the national collection retained. The residue was sent down to Richborough and reassembled according to their M. and S. or Cohen numbers. Then those in the finest condition were put on show in the Museum and from the rest a collection was made which could be used by students. The final residuum is stowed away in cupboards in the Museum. The fourth group, 1928-1930, has been treated in the same way. The fifth group coins—up to date—are still in their site envelopes. The coins which have gone to the British Museum have in some cases been replaced by electrotypes.

Here I should like to express my gratitude to all the staff of the coin room of the British Museum for help in the identification of difficult coins. The work became much less strenuous as the different volumes of M. & S. appeared and after the publication of J. W. E. Pearce's treatise on the coinage of the late fourth century.

I have been asked "What is the good of keeping all these coins? Why don't you sell them or make up sets for local schools, &c.?" Now in numismatics as in all sciences there is no standing still. If slowly, yet surely, new methods of inquiry come into action, and it is more than possible that some day a new form of analysis will be suggested for which coins will be needed in bulk, and some new Mattingly and Sydenham, some later J. W. E. Pearce will announce important discoveries which were made possible through work on the coins accumulated at Richborough.

BERTRAM W. PEARCE.

VII.

A GROUP OF COINS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE REVOLT OF NAXOS IN 467.

IN 1907 W. Wroth republished a group of Greek staters, in which four types were known: three of these had originally been described by B. V. Head as of Cyrene, and the fourth by J. N. Svoronos, who attributed the group to Macedonia: to these he added two coins which had recently been acquired by the British Museum, and remarked that the whole series bore a strong family likeness. In view of this, and of the fact that one of the new types was marked with the letters ΠΕ and had been found on the island of Peparethos, he proposed to assign the whole group, with some doubt in regard to one type, to that island, where specimens of two other types were reported to have been found.

It is true that there is a strong family likeness between the four types first described; but the two published by Wroth are quite dissimilar both to these and to each other in style and fabric. The one common factor in the six is the obverse type, a bunch of grapes; but this is treated differently in the group of four and in each of the other two: moreover, this is such a common Greek coin-type that it would be unjustifiable to presume a connexion of origin solely on the use of this type. As regards the provenance of the coins, the evidence which has been collected, mostly since Wroth wrote his article, with reference to finds of Greek coins shows conclusively that it cannot be taken as an axiom that coins of the higher denominations were struck at

or near the places where they have been found: such a method of attribution can reasonably be applied in respect of small silver or bronze, but staters are much more frequently unearthed at some distance from their homes than near them. So far as the records show, only about one per cent. of the known specimens of staters of Athens, Aegina, or Corinth were found in Attica, Aegina, or Corinthia respectively, the rest coming from all parts of the Greek world. It may be added that, even if provenance could be accepted as a guide in the matter, Cos would have as good a claim as Peparethos to the first group, since each island has produced three specimens; those from Cos being certainly, and those from Peparethos probably, out of one hoard in each case. It seems therefore that a reconsideration of the attribution is desirable.

The list which follows gives the published specimens of the six varieties as described by Head (*N.C.* 3. xi. 1), Babelon (*Traité*, ii. 1, and ii. 4), Svoronos (*J.I.A.N.* 1905, 339), Wroth (*J.H.S.* xxvii. 90), Hill (*N.C.* 4. xx. 108), and the E. F. Weber, Warren, Jameson, Pozzi, and H. Weber catalogues. It should be noted that all the coins of the first four types were struck from one or other of two obverse dies, (A) a plain bunch of grapes, or (B) a bunch of grapes on a stalk.

I. Agon type; obverse A.

A. British Museum: Head i, Pl. i. 3; Babelon 4. 759, Pl. ccci. 9; Wroth I, Pl. iv. 1.

B. Paris: Babelon 1. 1860, Pl. lix. 15 and 4. 759, Pl. ccci. 8.

(The specimen described by Babelon as in or formerly in the Greenwell collection is clearly a duplication of A: see Note I.)

II. Herakles type (a) ; obverse A.

- A. Boston: Head ii, Pl. i. 4; Babelon 1. 1862 and 4, 765, Pl. ccii. 2; Warren cat. 1410; Wroth II. B.
- B. Paris: Babelon 1. 1862, Pl. lix. 16 and 4. 765.
- C. (?now): Svoronos 4, Pl. xi. 22; Wroth II. C; H. Weber cat. 2956.
- D. British Museum: Wroth II. A; H. Weber cat. 2957; Hill; Babelon 4. 765.

(b); obverse B.

- A. British Museum: Head iii, Pl. i. 5; Babelon 1. 1863 and 4. 766, Pl. ccii. 8; Wroth II. D.
- B. Jameson: E. F. Weber cat. 2248, Pl. xxx; Jameson cat. 1110; (possibly Wroth II. E).
- C. (?now): Pozzi cat. 2070, Pl. lxiii.

III. Helmet type (a) tetradrachm ; obverse B.

- A. British Museum: Head iv, Pl. i. 6; Babelon 1. 1864 and 4. 762, Pl. ccci. 12; Wroth III. B, Pl. iv. 6.
- B. Jameson: Svoronos 1, Pl. xi. 19; Wroth III. A, Pl. iv. 4; Babelon 4. 762, Pl. ccci. 13; H. Weber cat. 2958; Jameson cat. 2043.
- C. (?now): Svoronos 2, Pl. xi. 20; Wroth III. C; Babelon Pl. lix. 17; Pozzi cat. 2071.
- D. (?now): Pozzi cat. 2072; (possibly Wroth III. D).

(b) didrachm ; obverse A.

- A. Berlin: Imhoof-Blumer, *z. Gr. u. Röm. Münzk.* 271; Babelon 4. 763.

IV. Floral type ; obverse B.

- A. Jameson: Svoronos 3, Pl. xi. 21; Wroth IV; Babelon 1. 1865, Pl. lix. 18 and 4. 764, Pl. ccii. 1; Pozzi cat. 2073; Jameson cat. 2042.

V. Dionysos type.

- A. British Museum: Wroth V, Pl. iv. 2; Babelon 4. 758, Pl. ccci. 7.

VI. Dolphin-rider type.

- A. British Museum: Wroth VI, Pl. iv. 8; Babelon 4. 760, Pl. ccci. 10.
- B. Jameson: Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1912, p. 16, Pl. iii; Jameson cat. 1109 a; Babelon 4. 761, Pl. ccci. 11.

A half-drachma was published by Hill in *N.C.* 4. xx. 109, Pl. xiii. 14 as of Peparethos: the obverse type is the bunch of grapes and the reverse a kantharos; and it is quoted by Babelon as 4. 767. The ground of Hill's attribution was its similarity to types V and VI: if therefore it can be shown that these two types have no connexion with the other four in the list, it is not necessary to consider the half-drachma here.

The technical affinity of the first four varieties is very close. Only two obverse dies and four reverses appear to have been used, and the didrachm was struck with tetradrachm dies, though not with those that were paired for the tetradrachms of the same reverse type. One obverse die, A, is associated with reverses I, II, and III: the other, B, with reverses II, III, and IV. The reverse dies are all of the kind which is characteristic of the Athenian mint from the latter part of the sixth century till well on in the fourth: the die, as shown by examples which survive, was a square-headed punch, the whole face of which was covered by the design, without any flat margin round it; and the area of the field was less than that of the obverse die, so that there is a marked curl of the surface of the metal round the type. In V, on the other hand, the dies are distinctly broader, and the design on the reverse is much shallower, with little curling of the margin: the flat effect may be due in some degree to the material of the coin, which is a plated one, but it is quite unlike the first four types. As for VI, the dies are curious: the obverse die of the British Museum specimen shows only a bunch of grapes, while the Jameson specimen has the same bunch with a leaf at each side. It is difficult to decide, without comparison of the actual

coins, whether the leaves can have been cut on the die after the former specimen was struck, as was suggested by Hill, and such a comparison is impossible at present; but the reproductions published rather point to the explanation being that the British Museum coin was the later struck, and that the obverse die collapsed in the striking, so that only the central part of the type was impressed on the flan, which seems to have been an old coin. The reverse die has a shallow square with a broad flat margin, and the design is placed diagonally in the square: the general effect is similar to that of some of the anonymous issues of the Northern area, where the dies seem to have originated, like those of the Thracian tribal pieces, in a flat presser with a shallow design sketched upon it for squeezing the metal down into the obverse die, rather than in a punch of the Ionian kind.

The types chosen for the coins do not prove any connexion between the first four varieties and the other two. It is true that all have a bunch of grapes for their obverse type; but, as Wroth remarked (p. 91), the bunch on the obverse of V is "not identical with the bunches on the other coins" and (p. 94) "is plainly later than any of those previously described". It is, in fact, much more akin in treatment to the bunches which appear on coins of Central Greece than to those of the Aegaeian islands. The obverse of VI, as it is found on the Jameson specimen, is so completely different from the rest described that it would doubtless have caused Wroth, if this example had been known when he wrote his article, to alter the opinion which he expressed (p. 94) that the coin is "probably not of Peparethus" into "certainly". As regards the reverse

types, there is nothing in common between any of the six: Agon, Herakles, helmet, floral design, Dionysos, and dolphin-rider represent a very wide field of choice, and the only one of the coins where there is any connexion between the types of the obverse and the reverse is V, on which Dionysos is fitly associated with the bunch of grapes. It is the two obverse dies shared by the first four varieties which supply a link which would not be suggested by the reverse types.

In regard to style, there is no difficulty in accepting the connexion of the first four varieties: the obverses are not distinctive, but the reverses are all of good late archaic work and belong to the same school, which seems to have been one under Ionic influence. The date suggested by comparison with sculptures in relief would be about 500: in regard to this point, however, it must be remembered that the art of coin-dies is apt to be deceptive in its apparent date, not only in cases where an old type is meticulously copied for commercial purposes long after it is artistically antiquated, as at Athens in the fifth century, but also, if a psychological cause can be admitted, through a conservative sentiment which is curiously persistent in connexion with coins and currency, and which was frequently manifested in Greece—for instance, in the style as well as the types of the coins struck at several of the cities of Sicily in the middle of the fifth century after the expulsion of the tyrants. As the didrachm III(b) is overstruck on a coin of Methymna which can hardly be earlier than 480, there is some reason for placing this group of dies somewhat later than their style would suggest at first sight. The reverse of V is unquestionably later, and belongs to a different school:

it might be of the second half of the fifth century, but the clumsy seated figure of Dionysos has some resemblance to Eastern copies of the fourth, and the lettering seems to be of that century. The style of VI, on the other hand, is very crude, and can hardly be later than 500: the presence of a specimen of this variety in the Taranto hoard agrees with this, as the hoard, even if not as early as 510, the date assigned to it by Babelon, cannot be much after 500: also it is not easy to believe that the first four varieties were struck at the same mint as VI within half a century.

The weights of the examples recorded do not give very precise help. The first four varieties are clearly tetradrachms and a didrachm of Euboeo-Attic standard, not closely adjusted, so far as can be judged (see Note I): VI is probably of the same standard: V, being a plated coin, is no guide.

As there is no certain reason for regarding V and VI as belonging to the same issuing authority as I-IV, and as there are several reasons against it, the assignment of I-IV to Peparethos on the ground that V is probably of Peparethan origin may be abandoned, and an inquiry made as to a more likely home for this group. If a date in the first half of the fifth century can be accepted on artistic grounds, for the reasons stated above, the facts that the coins are of the Euboeo-Attic standard, of Attic technique, and of Ionic style point to the Cyclades: the standard might have been found in use at a more northerly centre at this period, but not the technique nor the style: on the other hand, the style might have been found farther east or south, but not the standard nor the technique. The obverse type, as already remarked, is such a common one in Greek states, on

the mainland as well as in the islands, that it offers no definite clue; and the miscellaneous collection of types on the reverses seems equally indefinite, at first sight. But there is a real significance in this characteristic: such an assemblage of types from different sources occurs in Greek coinages of the fifth century only in a few series where the coins were designed to appeal to markets outside their home states: the most notable example is Cyzicus, which struck "electrum" staters that circulated all over the Greek world, and borrowed their main types from almost as wide a field: without copying exactly the city badges of the markets they wished to secure, which would have been tantamount to claiming the authority of those cities for their own coinage, the Cyzicenes chose types which had an association familiar to their clients, and so would be likely to be popular amongst them. If the history of the Cyclades in the first half of the fifth century is searched to find an island which could have had reasons for issuing such a coinage, the only one which seems to meet the case is the island of Naxos on its revolt from the Delian League in 467.

It is of course a natural procedure for a state or group of states, on breaking away from the authority which had controlled them, to issue coins as a mark of their claim to independence: instances can be found in all parts of the world and at all periods: in Greece, only a few years before this group of coins appeared, the cities which united in the Ionian revolt from the King of Persia had struck a uniform set of staters with the badges of the several cities involved, apparently at two mints; and a similar "alliance" issue is found in the same region at the beginning of the fourth century. If

the coins of the hoard found in Melos in 1907 are correctly attributed to the Melian revolt against Athens, they offer a very close parallel, not only in the circumstances of the issue, but also in the heterogeneous collection of reverse types chosen for the coins, which suggest, without copying exactly, the familiar badges of numerous states of the Aegaeon area. It is highly probable on general political grounds that one of the first acts of the Naxians, on their withdrawal from the Delian League, would be to issue a coinage of their own; and if they hoped to head a secession of the island states, the wide selection of reverse types would be the more explicable.

Naxos, moreover, was probably in a better economic position than any other of the Cyclades at this period: fifty years earlier it was, according to the testimony of Herodotus, the richest of the islands, and there is no reason to think that it would have lost its prosperity in the interval. It did not, so far as is known, produce any silver from mines of its own, but it was an important centre for merchant shipping, which would provide a supply of foreign coins for restriking, such as few, if any, of the smaller islands could command. The issue was apparently not a large one, as only two obverse dies are known, and none of the specimens from one of these shows any signs of wear in the die, though the other developed a flaw: this, however, in view of the lack of definite information about Greek dies, cannot be pressed. Even a small issue, however, would hardly have been produced in any of the city states of the Aegaeon area at this period, except for some political reason: there was probably a sufficient supply of Athenian and Aeginetan staters in circula-

tion for the ordinary needs of foreign trade, and there would have been no financial gain to the city in restriking them on the same standard. But a comparatively small issue would serve the purpose of a "gesture": the first issue of didrachms with a distinctively Athenian type, the owl, which is almost certainly to be regarded as Solon's, must have been very small in comparison with the issues of the Euboean cities with which it was linked, as specimens are extremely rare: this, however, heralded one of the most important economic movements in Greek history. In any case, it would be requisite that the city should have some cash in hand: and in the fifth century most Greek city states were financed on a hand-to-mouth system. An issue of staters at this date really connotes a substantial overseas trade, such as few cities in the Aegaeon could claim to the same degree as Naxos.

The use of the Euboeo-Attic standard for the coinage in question does not constitute an objection to its attribution to Naxos (see Note II). It is true that the coins of the "island" series with the obverse type of a kantharos, which are assigned to Naxos, are of Aeginetan standard; but, even if their Naxian origin is accepted, they belong to the latter part of the seventh and early years of the sixth centuries, when Aegina dominated the shipping trade of the Aegaeon, and all the silver currency of the Cyclades would of necessity conform to the standard of the business centre. By the beginning of the fifth century, Athenian merchants had established themselves in the Aegaeon, and their standard of currency was recognized up to the Hellespont: they were also squeezing the Aeginetans out of the Egyptian trade: and, as Naxos was the point where

the lines from the Hellespont and the Levant would converge on their way to Athens, it would almost certainly use the Attic rather than the Aeginetan standard.

For these reasons the revolt of Naxos seems to offer the most probable explanation of the issue of this group of coins, which cannot be connected by their types with any other series known among Greek city coinages. The fact that they have been found in places as far apart as Thessaly on the one hand and Cos on the other is no difficulty in the way of this attribution, especially as neither Thessaly nor Cos, at this period, used the Euboeo-Attic standard: till the time of the Roman Empire, at any rate, there is no evidence that the stamp of an enemy state on a coin was a bar to its acceptance in outside markets, so long as the metal was satisfactory. As regards Aegæan currency, it was almost certainly not till a few years after the Naxian revolt that the first Athenian decree which aimed at the prohibition of the circulation in the Empire of all but Athenian coins was passed.

As regards the other two varieties discussed, V seems to be correctly assigned to Peparethos: in addition to the clue given by the letters on the obverse, the treatment of the bunch of grapes can be paralleled in Central Greece and would not be strange in Thessaly: the reverse type is not a distinctively local one; but, though the execution of the die suggests an Asiatic school of art, some allowance must be made for the fact that the coin is plated: the technique of the striking is certainly not Asiatic. It is more difficult to place VI: the fabric might be Macedonian or Thracian, and the crudely executed obverse die is no worse than several

others of the late sixth-century issues of that region; but the dolphin-rider does not belong to any city thereabouts. He would, of course, be quite at home on the other side of the Aegæan, for instance at Iasos or Methymna: it would be impossible to assign this coin to any mint on that coast, but the type might have been brought over and adopted at one of the numerous Ionian trading settlements near the mouth of the Strymon, as happened with other Asiatic types. The half-drachma published by Hill has some affinity to V, though the bunch of grapes on the obverse is more like that on the coins of Tenos: as however the coin is clearly a good deal earlier than V, the attribution to Peparethos is not impossible.

NOTE I.

The identification of the several specimens of these coins from the descriptions of them which have been published has been rendered difficult by various confusions. In the first section of vol. ii of the *Traité*, Babelon, presumably from a misreading of Head's remarks in *N.C.* 3. ix, quoted the British Museum coins I. A and III. A as in the Greenwell collection: in the fourth section he mentioned each twice, probably misled by the fact that Wroth gave lighter weights for each coin than had been given by Head, so that it is made to appear that in addition to the British Museum specimens there are distinct specimens formerly in the Greenwell collection. The illustrations have also got mixed: Babelon's Pl. ccii. 2 is, according to the text, of II. (a). B, but is actually of A; and his Pl. lix. 17 is of III. (a). C, which is not mentioned in the text. In the plates of the H. Weber catalogue, the obverses and reverses of nos. 2956 and 2958 (II. (a). C, and III. (a). B) have been interchanged: there is also a confusion in the notes on 2956 and 2957. Almost every time that a coin is redescribed, the weight is altered: in the cases of the British Museum coins mentioned above,

Head gave the weights as 266 and 261.3 grains, Wroth as 261 and 253.4 : the weight of IV. A was stated by Svoronos to be 17.68 grammes, but in the Pozzi catalogue it is 17.38 and in the Jameson catalogue 17.26 : the successive weights for II. (b). B are 16.79 and 16.36, for III. (a). B 16.75, 16.65, and 16.46 grammes.

NOTE II.

The coins of Aeginetan standard and of a fabric closely resembling the Aeginetan which were struck in the latter part of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries and are usually called "island coins" present many difficulties in their attribution. There is a wide range of types, some of which can be definitely assigned to certain of the Aegæan islands by their identity with the types used by those islands at a later period : others have a more distant suggestion of relationship to later types : several are not known to have been used as obverse types after their occurrence in this series : none is recognizable as the badge of a state on the mainland of Greece. The issues of these varieties do not appear to have been in any instance large, as they are all rare ; and in view of the general similarity of the fabric it is possible that they were struck at one or two mints with types which were considered applicable to other cities, very much as the Cyzicene staters were, either on the request of those cities or with the object of securing their custom. The standard used would then be according to that of the minting city, and would not be varied to suit the local price of silver at the city for which the coin was assumed to be struck : if therefore the coins with the type of a kantharos on the obverse are rightly attributed to Naxos, the fact that they are of Aeginetan standard only implies that this standard would be in vogue at Naxos for so long as Naxos was in the Aeginetan trade circle, not that it was in any sense a native standard of Naxos which would be retained after the trade of the island was controlled by some city other than Aegina.

J. G. MILNE.

VIII.

NOTES ON THE INDO-GREEKS.

[SEE PLATE VIII.]

List of Abbreviations.

- BMCat.* Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, 1886.
CAS. Coins of the Successors of Alexander in the East. A. Cunningham. *Num. Chron.*, 1868, &c.
CHI. Cambridge History of India, vol. i.
Coins of the Sakas. A. Cunningham. *Num. Chron.*, 1890.
JASB. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kh. Kharoshthi.
M. Monogram in *PMCat.* unless otherwise stated.
NC. Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics. R. B. Whitehead. *Num. Chron.*, 1923, pp. 294-343.
NNM. 13. Numismatic Notes and Monographs 13. The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India. R. B. Whitehead. New York, 1922.
NNM. 82. Do. 82. Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to India. E. T. Newell. New York, 1938.
Num. Chron. Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society.
PMCat. Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, vol. i. Oxford, 1914.
S. Size in inches: *Wt.* Weight in grains.
T. The Greeks in Bactria and India. W. W. Tarn. Cambridge, 1938.

THE primary object of this contribution is to describe some Indo-Greek coins of new or interesting type, and to discuss their bearing on the history of the period. This is scarcely possible without reference to an epoch-making book which appeared from the Cambridge University Press in 1938, Dr. W. W. Tarn's *The Greeks*

in Bactria and India; it will be difficult for anything to be written in future on the Indo-Greeks without some mention of this all-embracing work, whose close packed pages will probably produce a library. A distinguished Greek historian has drawn a complete picture of the period, and has restored it to its proper place in Hellenistic history; this glowing creation of an ardent Hellenist reconstructs in their highest terms the achievements of the Greeks in India. The evidence for India is scanty and uncertain, but the author has utilized every particle of material with great success; he has not been daunted by the obscure and difficult nomad and Chinese background. He marshals his evidence with the skill of a practised advocate; the weapon of analogy is very extensively used. Where so much is illuminating and admirable, one feels it is ungenerous to criticize; points of detail cannot all be right in so elaborate a reconstruction. Still there are some aspects which cause misgiving, and some points on which a numismatist who has actually collected in the Punjab feels that he can offer useful comment. I myself experienced the extraordinary attraction of this period as much as anybody; it made me a coin collector.

As regards sources, on the European side there are the scraps which have survived from Greek and Latin historians, the notices of classical geographers, and various minor indications. Most of these have been known for long, but are reinterpreted in the light of recent research. On the Indian side are the coins and inscriptions. Dr. Tarn writes that the coins of course are all-important, and that one cannot overpraise the work done on them by generations of numismatists;

it seems to him one of the wonders of scholarship. This is a generous tribute to the giants of the past. There has been a remarkable development during this century in the extraction of whatever there may be of historical value in the vast literature of ancient India. But it is here that Indologists will join issue with our author, the material is often so vague and the explanation so speculative; in brief, the subject is enormously complicated, and certainty in such matters need neither be claimed nor expected.

In 1923 I recorded some views on the Greeks in India based to a large extent on coin distribution and local knowledge.¹ The Greeks coming down the Kabul valley reached the plains through the mountains so could exercise choice of residence.² They were natives of a temperate climate, and their comparatively small numbers would have been lost in the plains. The coins abound and must have been minted in parts which would be naturally favoured by European settlers, the pleasant uplands of medium altitude of the Kabul valley down to the vale of Peshawar and the Indus.³ East of the Indus the Greeks found the

¹ "Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics", *Num. Chron.*, 1923, pp. 294-343.

² The British reached the mountains through the plains, a very different matter.

³ Cp. *NC.*, p. 305. The coin distribution suggested agrees with that indicated in J. Hackin's map on p. 291 of *Journal Asiatique*, 1935, "Répartition des Monnaies Anciennes en Afghanistan". Greek coins are concentrated in the Kabul valley; to the south and west we get Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, Kushan, and Sassanian money. Monsieur Hackin remarks that Afghan Seistan still awaits numismatic reconnaissance. It was recorded a century ago that Seistan furnished only Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian money together with numerous Sassanian and Arsacid pieces, *JASB.*,

hill district of Hazāra specially attractive; they also settled in the submontane tracts from Taxila to the Jhelum River, and at Sāgala. The Yavanas did not count east of Sāgala, which Dr. Tarn says with truth must have been an Indian city; doubtless it was the easternmost Greek mint.

The Greek triumphs in India were made possible by the collapse of the Mauryan dynasty, whose trans-Indus territory and the province of Taxila down to Sāgala contained the seat of the Greek power. Led by the lure of the sea, the Greeks traded up and down the Indus valley over which they exercised control, and they must have had commercial relations with the coastal regions. As regards operations by land, south of the Indus delta or across into the Ganges valley as far as the present-day Patna, the Greeks conducted cold-weather campaigns or made long-distance raids much as Mahmud of Ghazna, Nadir Shah, and Ahmad Shah Durrani did from similar regions in later times; this seemed to me a reasonable picture in view of the limited resources of the Greeks. Such feats would be remarkable enough to merit the descriptions of Greek conquests which have come down to us. But Dr. Tarn holds that the Greeks were no mere condottieri or raiders. Though disclaiming that they achieved a regular conquest, Dr. Tarn pleads for literal Greek rule over country extending from Kabul in a straight line nine hundred miles south to Broach, and eleven hundred eastwards to Patna. He speaks of the coastal

1840, p. 97. This low-lying region of the Helmand delta was a swarming ground for Asiatic nomads but can have had no attraction for Greeks.

provinces south of Patalene (Indus delta) remaining Greek; Broach (Barygaza) was a temporary capital of Apollodotus and a mint, p. 101; Demetrius refounded a town in the Indus delta named after himself; there were the Greek provinces east of the Ravi down to Mathura; Pataliputra (Patna) was captured by the Greeks and remained in their hands for some years. I maintain that where Greeks ruled, their coins must have been struck and circulated, and there should be sites which are known find-spots for Greek coins; this as far as I know is not the case outside the limited region in the north-west already defined.⁴

It is claimed that the aim of Demetrius was to restore the huge derelict empire of the Mauryans, but under Greek rule and with himself on the throne of Asoka, a plan hardly inferior in scope and audacity to that of Alexander (*T.*, p. 152). The project nearly succeeded, but failed because of the outbreak of civil war. Dr. Tarn considers that Menander and Apollodotus were contemporary with Demetrius; he reconstructs the course of events as follows. Briefly, Demetrius accompanied by his general Menander crossed the Indus and occupied Taxila. From Taxila there were two possible lines of advance on either side of the Indian desert,

⁴ I invite a reference to *NC.*, pp. 305 f. Greek coins occur rarely in the Punjab east of the Ravi. Ancient coins of any kind are very scarce in Sind—*Num. Chron.*, 1937, p. 67. At *NNM.* 13, p. 45 I wrote: "Ancient coins are found in considerable numbers (at Mathura) beginning with the drachms of Menander and Apollodotus." I did not intend to convey that the latter were amongst the ancient coins to be found in considerable numbers; such pieces are only sporadic specimens. Tod did not get his copper piece of Menander at Mathura till after many years' search. No deduction can be made that Menander ruled Mathura, *T.*, p. 245.

one down the Indus and the other eastward to the Ganges and Pātaliputra, the capital of the fallen Mauryan dynasty. Demetrius took these two lines simultaneously; in person with Apollodotus to the Indus delta, while Menander advanced to the south-east and took Pātaliputra. Demetrius refounded a city in the Indus delta country named after himself and returned north.⁶ Apollodotus went on alone and captured the seaport of Barygaza (Broach) in Gujerat, where he ruled for several years. Menander occupied Pātaliputra and the Greeks held it for some seven years; they actually ruled Northern India from the Mauryan capital. "For a few brief years Demetrius was lord of a realm which in mere size probably surpassed that of the first Seleucus; he ruled from the Jaxartes to the Gulf of Cambay, from the Persian desert to the Middle Ganges" (*T.*, p. 155).

This conception far surpasses that expressed with authority by Sir George Macdonald and Professor Rapson, *CHI.*, pp. 445, 543; it will stand or fall by the evidence for the actual capture and continued occupation of Pātaliputra. The campaign is described by Dr. Tarn in the ordinary language of conquest, but he allays the misgivings of those who cannot see how the Greeks with their limited resources could have carried through this vast enterprise by explaining that the empire was not so much the result of military effort as of a voluntary partnership between Greek and Indian, especially the

⁶ The views of a Sanskrit scholar on this and other suggestions are contained in "Demetrias in Sind(?)", by E. H. Johnston, *JRAS.*, April, 1939; cf. also *JRAS.*, 1840, pp. 179-93.

Buddhist Indian against the Brahman. This attitude must have amounted to one of active help of some kind, though Dr. Tarn does not define it with exactitude. The concept of widespread hostility of the nature indicated at this period between Buddhist and Brahman is not a commonly accepted theory.

Dr. Tarn's conception demands that Demetrius, Apollodotus, and Menander should be contemporary. So early a date for Menander runs counter to the prevailing idea based specially on the coins; those of Menander by the usual tests of style and technique must be pronounced decidedly later than the splendid money of Demetrius. Dr. Tarn explains this as follows. "Because his (Menander's) coins are much inferior in style to those of Demetrius and his successors in Bactria, who could be approximately dated from Polybius, it was concluded that he must be late, so as to give time for the art to become debased; whereas in reality it means that the artists at his disposal in the rather remote eastern Punjab were inferior in skill to those who worked in Bactria" (*T.*, p. 134). The assumption that Demetrius did not strike coins in India is difficult to accept if Demetrius built a new Taxila to be his capital, conquered Sind, and refounded a city there named after himself.⁶ As regards Menander, the find-spots and monograms show that the great bulk of his money was struck west of the Indus and not in the Punjab.

Where Dr. Tarn will find lack of agreement is in the attribution of certainty to various points concerned. For example, he asserts that Antialcidas was the

⁶ *T.*, pp. 142, 179.

last king to rule all the three kingdoms west of the Jhelum—Taxila, Gandhāra, Paropamisadae (Kabul), that his successor in Taxila was Archebius, and that Archebius was certainly succeeded by the Saca Maues, *T.*, p. 315. Again, the rule of Artemidorus in Pushkalāvati is certain both from his name and his types, and it is quite certain that his immediate successor was Maues, *T.*, p. 316. Then there are Dr. Tarn's views about Agathocleia, that she was probably the daughter of Demetrius and that she was Menander's queen, *T.*, pp. 78, 225.

The assertion that Archebius was certainly succeeded in Taxila by Maues is based on Professor Rapson, *CHI.*, p. 559, whose reason is said to be conclusive. Professor Rapson observed that the type "pilei" of the copper coins of Antialcidas is continued by Archebius, and that it next appears on small silver pieces of a Saca satrap struck in imitation of those of Eucratides. "The evidence of coins thus shows that after the reign of Archebius, the region of Taxila passed from the Yavanas to the Sacas." But in any case, there is no certainty that Antialcidas was succeeded in Taxila by Archebius, and Archebius by Maues. The monogram of the Archebius coin *CHI.*, Pl. VIII. 44, associates it with Pushkalāvati, not with Taxila, p. 108.

As with Archebius, the statement that it is quite certain that the immediate successor of Artemidorus at Pushkalāvati was Maues, is based on Professor Rapson, *CHI.*, p. 558, whose reason is again held to be conclusive. The passage runs: "The kingdom of Pushkalāvati was wrested from the Yavanas by the first Saca king Maues, who imitates the types of Artemidorus, Artemis: Indian bull." The coins concerned

are *PMCat.*, Pl. VII. 555 and Pl. X. 10; *BMCat.*, Pl. XVI. 4 is a better specimen of the latter piece. The two pieces are quite different in shape, style, and monogram; the Artemis of Maues is clearly taken from some other source.

Dr. Tarn writes of Agathocleia that the evidence that she was the queen of Menander seems conclusive, a conception based on the *Cambridge History of India*, p. 552. Professor Rapson wrote that her (Agathocleia's) name suggests that she may have belonged to the family of Pantaleon and Agathocles. Her relation to Menander cannot be proved very definitely; but it is by no means improbable that she was his queen and the governor of his kingdom after his death. "The evidence, such as it is, is as follows":

(1) The "bust of Athena helmeted" on coins of Menander is perhaps a portrait of Agathocleia.

(2) The figure of a warrior king on the reverse of the coin of Agathocleia, *PMCat.*, Pl. IX. vii "may be supposed to represent the late king: a similar figure occurs as the obverse type on coins of Menander, where it is most naturally explained as that of Menander himself, *PMCat.*, Pl. VI. 515". But is it not just as likely that the armed male figure on the reverse of Pl. IX. vii is the personage whose name is under it, Strato himself? I cannot see any special resemblance between this figure and that on the obverse of Pl. VI. 515. The suggestion that the bust of Athena helmeted on coins of Menander is perhaps a portrait of Agathocleia is sheer surmise. The portraiture on these coins, especially of those in copper, is unreliable.⁷

⁷ "One cannot rely upon portraits struck in India", *T.*, p. 77.

To sum up, the numismatic evidence, as so frequently, is ambiguous. "The pity of it is that the store of facts for the reconstruction of their history (that of the Bactrian Greeks) is so slender. The surmises are so many, and the certainties are few. Excavation may mend matters some day. Until then the utmost limit of possible achievement is to sketch a rough outline that shall not be inconsistent with such scattered fragments of evidence as survive."⁸

Striking archaeological work has been published from Tashkent in recent years, the moving spirit at Tashkent itself being Dr. M. E. Masson. In addition to the monograph on the coins of Heraus described later, eight numbers of a series called *Materialy Uzkomstarisa*, authorized by the Uzbekistan Committee for preserving monuments of material culture, appeared during the years 1933 to 1936.⁹ The fifth monograph is M. E. Masson's *Coin Finds registered in Central Asia in 1930 and 1931*, Tashkent, 1933. There are a few Bactrian pieces. In 1924 near Khiva was found a drachm of Euthydemus I. Amongst coins collected at Tirmidh were identified an obol of Demetrius, a copper piece of Eucratides, and a large coin of Heliocles, presumably an Attic tetradrachm. Such coins turn up in the locality of Tirmidh, but are rarer than formerly; for example, a drachm of Euthydemus II, monogram P , was discovered in the eighteen nineties. The collection of a Tirmidh citizen named Zampaev contained two copper pieces of Diodotus;

⁸ Sir George Macdonald, *CHI.*, p. 461.

⁹ I am much indebted for the Russian references to the kindness of Professor E. H. Minns.

one of Euthydemus I; a coin of Agathocles, type *PMCat.*, 43, monogram \mathbb{K} ; an Attic drachm of Heliocles, monogram M; barbarous copies of Euthydemus I and of Heliocles.

Dr. Tarn's views on the coin monograms and find-spots are contained in his first Appendix. It has been widely believed that the monograms, or most of them, denoted mint cities, yet Cunningham's laborious effort to work out the mint-cities from these numerous monograms was a complete failure. Dr. Tarn claims that it is admitted that, after many years of study, no single monogram of any mint has been identified; on the other hand, the types of at least two mint-cities, the Zeus enthroned of Alexandria-Kapisa and the humped bull of Pushkalāvati, are perfectly certain. The Seleucid monograms represent moneyers, and the continuity between the eastern Greek kingdoms and the Seleucid realm is as marked as that of other Seleucid succession states. Dr. Tarn sees no reason to suppose that the monograms ever denote mint-cities. As regards find-spots, Dr. Tarn observes that much use has been made by some writers of the find-spots of coins in determining where this or that king reigned, but it is not a satisfactory form of evidence; he had sometimes been forced to use it in default of better, but coins travel in trade and almost any other kind of evidence is preferable. In many cases, too, the find-spots are unknown. Dr. Tarn proceeds to lay down certain rules. If a king like Apollodotus or Menander has an abundant coinage found in many places over great distances, that is evidence of a widely extended rule, but the king need not have ruled in all the places where his coins are found; in any case, large or small coinage, the

absence of coins in a district cannot be set up against other evidence that the king in question ruled there. But it is here where the Seleucid analogy breaks down. Our author does not make sufficient allowance for the local circumstances of India, for example, the prevalence of hoarding and the intense conservatism which links locality and type. The immemorial habit of hoarding is widespread even in modern times; it is a habit unconnected with the presence or absence of danger, and amounts to a method of saving primitive but persistent.¹⁰ India abounds in ancient sites marked by mounds which have survived to the present day as it is held that they are guarded from active disturbance by supernatural protection; the site yields an annual harvest of coins in the rains, and these coins are obtainable in the neighbouring bazars. The money is characteristic of the locality; there are abundant hoards great and small buried in the places where they were struck.¹¹ This was the situation as Cunningham found it, and his classification of the ancient native coins of India, based on locality, has stood the test of time; it is a sheet anchor of Indian numismatics.¹²

¹⁰ See, for example, Dr. A. H. Lloyd's "Hoarding of the Precious Metals in India", *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936*, London, 1938. The paper contains some astonishing statistics.

¹¹ The circumstances west of the Indus are of course much the same. J. Hackin writes: "Jusqu'à présent les monnaies anciennes prenaient toujours le chemin du bazar le plus proche du lieu de la trouvaille. Cette centralisation me laissait donc la possibilité de remonter d'une façon sûre au lieu d'origine de la trouvaille. Le développement du système routier, l'afflux des étrangers vont modifier cette situation" (J. Hackin, "Répartition des Monnaies Anciennes en Afghanistan", *Journal Asiatique*, 1935, p. 287).

¹² A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1891. Transport development had not yet affected the distribution.

The connexion of Apollodotus with Barygaza is an expansion of the statement by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* that the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were still in circulation in the first century A.D. at Barygaza (Broach). Dr. Tarn deduces that the rule of Apollodotus in Barygaza cannot be in doubt (*T.*, p. 149); he states that Menander's money was well established in Barygaza and that the coins of Apollodotus certainly circulated there.¹³ "It must be supposed that the great trading port, having found that these coins were good media of exchange, continued to copy them indefinitely for trade purposes," *T.*, p. 441. This means that the place was also a mint, if not for originals, then for copies. If all this is true, Broach should be a regular find-spot for Greek coins. As far as I know this is not the case, in fact I have not heard of the discovery of a single Greek coin at Broach. The British reached Broach early in the seventeenth century, yet it was not till they had advanced four hundred and fifty miles nearer the actual bases of Greek power in the far north-west that the first coins of Apollodotus and Menander came to light.¹⁴

Mr. H. K. Deb has written a well-informed article on the connexion of coin type with locality.¹⁵ I do not follow him when he places Greek mint cities in the plains at such south-west Punjab places as Multan and Shorkot, and at Sehwan in Sind. I cannot

¹³ Why should these coins not have come to Broach in the ordinary course of trade? Money of all periods continues to circulate almost indefinitely in an Indian bazar.

¹⁴ Found by Major J. Tod at and near Mathura in 1825. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1827, p. 313.

¹⁵ H. K. Deb, "Indo-Greek Coin-Types", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934. There is a wonderful *teh* (mound) at Shorkot.

understand why the Greeks should voluntarily leave the hills and live in the plains of Sind in a climate which has been called a *mélange* of the desert, the oven, and the dusthole.¹⁶ Multan is one of the hottest places in India.

Returning to the monograms, Cunningham regarded them as mint-marks; Dr. Tarn has gone to the other extreme and holds that they never mean mint towns. Mr. Newell was rightly opposed to the facile resolution of monograms into mint-names leading to spurious history, but he does not maintain that a Seleucid monogram never denotes a mint.¹⁷ Sir Charles Oman in his review of Dr. Tarn's book states that he prefers a mint place as the equivalent for a specified monogram repeated on the money of fourteen kings; also in cases where the monogram of a Greek king is used on the money of the Sacas, he considers the survival of the mint more likely than that of the mint master.¹⁸ He cannot believe in the clear-cut division between dynastic lines starting the one from Euthydemus and Demetrius, and the other from Eucratides.

As regards mints, perhaps it is more than a coincidence that a monogram resolvable into Euthymedeia is often found on the money of the eastern group of kings centred on Sāgala or Euthymedeia, held to be in

¹⁶ The author does not believe that an effective change of climate has taken place within historic time ("The River Courses of the Panjab and Sind", *Indian Antiquary*, 1932, p. 169). It would help Mr. Deb's case if he could show that the coins described are actually found at places in the plains which he claims to be mints.

¹⁷ E. T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, New York, 1918, p. 116. Seleucid monograms can denote mints, e.g. Tyre.

¹⁸ *English Historical Review*, January, 1939.

the region of the modern Sialkot. The elaboration of the concept of the rival houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides is due to Professor Rapson, *CHI.*, chapter XXII. The idea is that after the civil war between Eucratides and Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, and on the death of Menander, the Greek dominions were divided up between the two families, the house of Eucratides ruling most of the country between the Hindu Kush and the Jhelum, the house of Euthydemus east of the Jhelum, and so continued roughly speaking till the end of the dynasty. This scheme rests on a study of the coin types. Each house was founded by a usurper or a soldier of fortune, yet, throughout a disturbed period succeeding a bitter civil war, it is assumed that no other soldier of fortune seized power, which is most unlikely. Dr. Tarn sees only one usurper, Telephus, amongst the later kings. He solves the problem of fitting many kings into a short period by the ingenious concept of sub-kings, based on analogy with the Seleucids. Sir Charles Oman is driven to believe that, in view of the immense number of regal names forthcoming, the Greek Indian realms were fertile in ephemeral military usurpers; he suggests that Theophilus and Apollophanes may belong to this class. Two other kings who appear to me to be apart from the rest are Epander and Artemidorus; both have unusual monograms and types.

The specimens described below come from various sources; all are of new or interesting type.

1. ANTIOCHUS II.

N, 130 gr. Mint Bactra. Newell, p. 244, 709, and Pl. LIII. 1. *CHI.*, Pl. II. 9, with head of Antiochus II.

2. DIODOTUS, under Antiochus II.

N, 132 gr. Mint Bactra. Newell, p. 248, 723, and Pl. LIII. 15. *CHI.*, Pl. II. 11.

3. DIODOTUS.

N, 128 gr. Mint Bactra. Newell, p. 249 and Pl. LIII. 18. *CHI.*, Pl. II. 14:

These are three Bactrian staters in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the references are to E. T. Newell's *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints*, New York, 1938. The coins belong to the Tremlett Collection of Indian coins, small and choice, which was bequeathed to the Museum in 1918. Mr. J. D. Tremlett was a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court (now High Court), Lahore.

4. ANTIMACHUS THEOS.

Obv.

In incuse area.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

Thunderbolt

ANTIMACHOY

Rev.

No legend.

Elephant running to l.
with trunk uplifted.

Æ. Rect. Wt. 141. S. 0.65 × 0.9 [Pl. VIII. 2.] P. Thorburn.

This important new piece is one of many good coins in the cabinet of Mr. P. Thorburn, F.R.N.S. It must be of Antimachus Theos, and shows that he struck a square copper Indian issue of Taxilan type comparable with the "dancing-girl" copper of Agathocles and Pantaleon. The fine lettering of the Greek legend is in good style, and there is no Indian legend; the coin is earlier than the Indian money of Agathocles and Pantaleon, and Dr. Tarn places Antimachus Theos in the preceding generation. Room must now be found for him towards Taxila (*T.*, p. 90).

5. MENANDER?

Obv.

No legend.

In reel and pellet border,
bust of Athena to r., wear-
ing crested helmet.

Rev.

No legend.


In similar border, large
horned owl walking to r.
with head facing.
To l. A.

A. Wt. 132.3. [Pl. VIII. 1.]. B.M.

This remarkable gold coin was sent to me from India in 1938 and has been acquired by the British Museum; the dealer said it was found at Charsadda, the site of Pushkalāvati, the ancient capital of Gandhāra. At *PMCat.*, p. 5, I wrote that after Eucratides a gold currency of any Greek prince up to and including the last king Hermaeus was absolutely unknown, but drew attention to a gold stater in the British Museum Collection which had been tentatively assigned to Menander. It was a Cunningham coin of the above type but, inferior in condition and artistic merit, it was regarded as a curiosity and has neither been published nor discussed. Now after an interval of fifty years or more, a second piece finer beyond comparison has come to light. It cannot have been struck for ordinary circulation; in the fact that it bears no legend, the piece compares with the so-called Porus silver medallion of Alexander of decadrachm size illustrated at *CHI.*, Pl. I. 16. The weight is that of the Attic stater; the framework is the reel and pellet border, the Seleucid bead and reel moulding used by Eucratides, *T.*, p. 196. There does not appear to be any particular significance in this; I invite a reference to the note on the coin of Arsaces Theos. The type, Athena and her owl, is one of Menander as found on

both silver and copper coins. The Athena of this coin does not appear to resemble Menander. It has been noted that the owl of Athena is always a hornless, never a horned or eared species¹⁹; the bird on the known coins of Menander is of Athenian type. The bird of this gold piece appears to be a horned owl, possibly the Indian eagle owl. The monogram is another connexion with Menander. It is the letter A, which occurs like this as a monogram on the square copper coins of elephant's head and club type. Mr. Newell has remarked that the first step towards a cursive alpha begins to appear under the Graeco-Indian princes in this form, *NNM.* 82, p. 97.

6. STRATO.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Gk. legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.	Kh. legend: <i>Maharajasa trutarasa</i> <i>dhramikasa Stratasa</i> Athena Promachos to l.
Diademed bust of king to l. thrusting javelin; lion's skin on shoulder.	In l. field 

Ar. Wt. 139.5 [Pl. VIII. 8.] Fitzwilliam Museum.

The first known piece of this type of the tetradrachms of Strato was published in *NC.*, p. 328, 29; the obverse was too poor to show any detail. I have since acquired two other specimens, one of which is now in the British Museum and the other in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. They reveal that the exposed shoulder of the fighting king is covered by the lion's skin, a new

¹⁹ Professor D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, Oxford, 1936.

feature for the Indo-Bactrian series. Strato himself on other coins of this type, also other spear-throwing kings, are protected by the aegis; the only exception hitherto known was Lysias, who is exhibited on a unique drachm in the British Museum as bearing the forepart of a tiny elephant on his shoulder, *NC.*, p. 326.

Professor Rapson, *CHI.*, p. 552, says that Agathocleia and Strato ruled south and east of the Rawalpindi District, that is to say, in the Jhelum District and farther in the directions indicated. Apparently this opinion is based mainly on the fact that the usual type of the silver coins is that of Athena Promachos, who is found on the money of the admittedly eastern group of kings; it is not supported by considerations of provenance, monogram, and style. I am glad Dr. Tarn shares my belief that Strato also ruled in Gandhāra *T.*, p. 271. A considerable variety of money portrays Strato from youth to advanced old age. It indicates that he reigned at one time or another from Kabul to the eastern Punjab; he is associated with Agathocleia, one of the two Indo-Bactrian queens. Strato must have had a long and adventurous career.

7. POLYXENUS.

It was a pleasure to see a copper coin of Polyxenus in the collection of Mr. Cuthbert King, I.C.S.; I hope he will publish and illustrate it. The piece is in beautiful condition; the monogram is *NC.*, p. 311, K 3. It is of type *PMCat.*, Pl. V. 372 and shows, as appears from a closer examination of the Punjab Museum coin, that the obverse design is not the bust of the king but is that of Athena as found for example on the square copper coin of Menander, *PMCat.*, Pl. VI. 482; also

that the Kharoshthi version of the name of the king is not *Pulisinasa* as on the silver coin, but is *Paliksinasa*. The compound letter *ks* does not occur on any other Indo-Greek coin.

This piece is the third coin of Polyxenus to be discovered; the other two are in the Punjab Museum, Lahore. Each piece bears a different monogram. Dr. Tarn places Polyxenus with the eastern group of kings (*T.*, p. 317), presumably on the ground of type alone; there is no resemblance in style and monogram. The monograms of the Lahore specimens are two of those I associate with the Kabul region, *NC.*, p. 311, K 2 and K 5; the newly discovered piece bears a third, K 3. I place Polyxenus west of the Indus.

Monogram K 4 is found on the "city goddess" copper coins of Peucolaus; I agree that it should be associated not with the upper Kabul valley (Paropamisadae), but lower down with Pushkalāvati, *T.*, p. 315. From information received since 1923, it seems probable that the find of Indo-Bactrian tetradrachms described in *NC.*, 1923, was made not in the Kabul region, but at or near Charsadda (Pushkalāvati).

8. NIKIAS.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Gk. legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ.	Kh. legend: <i>Maharajasa tratarasa</i> <i>Nikiasa.</i>
Diademed bust of king to r.	Athena facing, moving to l., brandishing thunderbolt in r. hand; aegis on l. arm.

R. Wt. 145.5. [*Pl.* VIII. 4.] In l. field *M.* 76.
E. T. Newell.

This is the first tetradrachm of Nicias to be discovered. It was illustrated by Mr. Newell in *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*, New York, 1937; he has a longer notice in *NNM*. 82. The monogram connects Nicias with Philoxenus; the reverse design is that of the pieces of Strato pictured in *White King Sale Catalogue*, Amsterdam, 1904, Part I, Pl. I. 104 and 106. The coin belongs to the class I associate with Gandhāra.

I pointed out at *NC.*, p. 334, that the statement that the coins of Nicias are found only in the Jhelum District (*CHI.*, p. 547) was originally due to Mr. J. P. Rawlins, late of the Punjab Police, and appeared in the *Jhelum District Gazetteer* written in the eighteen-nineties. Obviously that statement can be true only for the period and coins concerned, yet it continues to be used and to cause misapprehension. Dr. Tarn writes: "Nicias's kingdom was somewhere on the Jhelum river; his coins are of poor style, which may point to an improvised mint" (*T.*, p. 328). The last remark does not apply to the silver coins, which are associated in type, style, and monogram with Gandhāra.²⁰ Tetradrachms are not found in the Jhelum locality; I return to this point in my note on a coin of Hippostratus. With reference to the deductions based on a study of the "dolphin twined round anchor" type of Nicias' copper money, *T.*, pp. 328, 329, I still hold that both known specimens have the same obverse design, head of Poseidon, as already stated at *NC.*, p. 334.

²⁰ Gandhāra of this contribution is the same as that of Dr. Tarn, who uses the term in its strict sense for the appropriate region running west from the Indus, *T.*, p. 135.

9. HIPPOSTRATUS.

Obv.

Gk. legend:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Deity seated on square-backed throne; diadem in outstretched r. hand, long sceptre in l.

Rev.

Kh. legend:

*Maharajasa tratarasa
jayamta Hipustratasa.*

Within reel and pellet border, horse walking to l.

Æ. Sq. Wt. 192.6. [Pl. VIII. 6.] Fitzwilliam Museum.

This square copper coin of Hippostratus is of type *BMCat.*, Pl. XIV. 8. The piece appears to be the second known specimen in the large size, and is a recent acquisition of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; it is in much better condition than the coin at Berlin, published and illustrated in *NC.*, Pl. IV. The enthroned deity is usually called Zeus, but wears a different head-dress and may be identical with Pallas or her local equivalent.

Hippostratus is placed east of the Indus, though I added the Peshawar valley to his kingdom, *NC.*, p. 338. Dr. Tarn holds that his "city" coins, *PMCat.*, Pl. VIII. 606, were struck at Bucephala which he places on the east bank of the Jhelum River, "doubtless his capital", *T.*, p. 326. An objection to this view arises from the following considerations. The late Mr. W. S. Talbot, I.C.S., was Settlement Officer of Jhelum District in the eighteen-nineties, and collected coins there for some years. He told me that he never found a silver coin of tetradrachm size; other collectors say the same. Generally speaking, a collector will not get tetradrachms without recourse to the Rawalpindi dealers,

that is to say, the larger silver coins usually come from tribal and independent territory to the west and north, difficult of access for the European. The "city" silver issue of Hipposthratus consists almost entirely of tetradrachms. If they had been struck at Bucephala, they should be found there or in the vicinity, which is not the case.

10. ZOILUS.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Gk. legend rubbed.	Fragment of Kh. legend
Apollo standing to r.	visible to l., probably part of
holding bow as <i>BMCat.</i> ,	<i>Jhoilasa.</i>
Pl. XII. 13.	Elephant to r.

Æ. Sq. Wt. 42.7. S. 4×45 . Fitzwilliam Museum.

This coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, remained unidentified owing to its extremely poor condition. The combination of Apollo and elephant makes its attribution to Zoilus Soter practically certain; it is a new type. Square copper coins of Zoilus Soter, and incidentally, of Zoilus Dikaïos, are extremely rare. I know of no more than four of Zoilus Soter, two specimens of *BMCat.*, Pl. XII. 13, the coin described at *NC.*, p. 333, and the above piece. The copper issue of Zoilus Dikaïos is *BMCat.*, Pl. XXXII. 2; I knew of two genuine specimens in 1914, *PMCat.*, p. 68, and have not seen another. "It is more reasonable to consider them (the issues of Zoilus Dikaïos and Zoilus Soter) as the issues of two distinct localities than to hold that there were two kings of the same name separated by a period long enough to produce so great a difference in style" (*NC.*, p. 308). Dr. Tarn holds that Zoilus Dikaïos is Zoilus I, and Zoilus Soter is

Zoilus II; a reference is invited to *T.*, p. 319. In a hoard consisting of nearly new coins of Apollodotus I, Menander, and Antimachus II (Antimachus Nikephorus), was a single coin of Zoilus Dikaïos. "There was then a Zoilus connected with Gandhāra just after Menander's death." If an early date for Menander is correct, this Zoilus Dikaïos of Gandhāra is probably earlier than and distinct from Zoilus Soter of Sāgala. On the other hand, the fact that one issue was struck in Gandhāra and the other at Sāgala is sufficient to account for the difference in style and fabric in the money of a single king.

11. HERMAEUS.

Obv.

Gk. legend:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

King in full war panoply on prancing steed to r.; spear slung on near side of horse; bow in case on off side.

Rev.

Kh. legend:

Maharajasa tratarasa
Heramayasa.

Radiate Zeus enthroned; curved object in r. hand; long sceptre in l.

AR. Wt. 150. [Pl. VIII. 5.] In r. field mon. NC., p. 311, K 3. E. T. Newell.

This beautiful tetradrachm of Hermaeus was published by Mr. Newell in *NNM.* 82; the type has been known for a long time, but in the drachm size only. The drachm came from the Sonipat hoard discovered in 1871, *CAS., Num. Chron.*, 1872, pp. 168, 181, and is in the British Museum. Mr. Newell points out that the radiate throned god wears Mithra's bonnet, so is Zeus-Mithra. He has a good comment on the object held in the god's outstretched right hand; I have

something to say about this in my note on a coin of Azilises. Mr. Newell remarks on the excellent style and the minute details of the types, and suggests with reason that the piece was possibly amongst Hermaeus' earliest issues. The obverse design is precisely that of the reverse of the coins of Hermaeus and Calliope. Dr. Tarn has noted that Hermaeus married a Calliope who is universally supposed, from the type of their joint coins, to have been a princess from one of the surviving Greek principalities east of the Jhelum; she can only have come from Hippostratus' kingdom, because these joint coins bear the type of Hippostratus and Nicias, "king on prancing horse", which Hermaeus himself did not use, *T.*, pp. 246, 337. The assertion that Hermaeus did not use the type of "king on prancing horse" is based on *CHI.*, p. 560, but that authority had overlooked the existence of the coin from the Sonipat hoard. There is no need of the suggested connexion of Hermaeus with Hippostratus through Calliope; her coins are identified by her connexion with Hermaeus, also by style and monogram, with the Kabul valley.

12. MAUES.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Gk. legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.	Kh. legend: <i>Rajatirajasa mahatasa</i> <i>Moasa.</i>
Radiate standing deity with driver in biga to r.	Enthroned god with long sceptre in l. hand; probably curved object in outstretched r. hand. Mon. to l. E.

Æ. Square drachma. [Pl. VIII. 3.] E. T. Newell.

A square drachm of Maues is one of the great rarities of the Indo-Scythic series. The interesting type is found on the tetradrachm, drachm, and square drachm, *Coins of the Sakas*, Pl. II. 1, 2, 3, but only one or two specimens are known of each denomination; there are crude forgeries of the tetradrachm. The usual monogram of the type is *M.* 5, one of the two which link Maues with Telephus, *NC.*, p. 337, but on the above coin we have just the letter *E* as on the Cunningham piece; I do not know of any other specimen. The square shape is Indian in origin, and the great majority of Indo-Bactrian copper issues are square. The form occurs sparingly in silver, drachms of Apollodotus I and Philoxenus only; it is not found in the large size. The above drachm is the only square silver issue of the Indo-Scythians, and is one more indication of the comparatively early date of Maues.

13. MAUES.

There is a well-known square copper coin of the Indo-Scythic king Maues with elephant on the obverse, and figure seated cross-legged on a divan as the reverse design, *PMCat.*, Pl. X. 31; the divan or bed appears to be made of a striped material. The figure is called that of the king carrying a weapon, club, or ceremonial mace comparable with that borne by Azes on coin *PMCat.*, Pl. XI. 195. Mr. Longworth Dames suggested that the figure might be Buddha, and in that case the supposed weapon was a sketchy back of the seat or throne, *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 793. Dr. Tarn has taken up his suggestion and developed it into a brilliant piece

of work; the idea of the elephant dancing before the Buddha is a delightful touch, *T.*, p. 402. The significance of all this is apparent both from the point of view of the origin of the Buddha statue and of its date; Dr. Tarn places the death of Maues in the year 58 B.C. If the figure is Buddha, the object across its middle cannot be a weapon or mace. The Keeper of the Coins and myself have again carefully inspected the several pieces in the British Museum Coin Room; we still think that the object does not look like the back of a throne. Another difficulty is that the figure does not show the attributes of the Buddha; for example, there should be the *ushnīsha*, the protuberance on the top of the head. I have never seen a specimen of this coin with a really clear reverse; these doubts should be resolved when such a piece comes to hand.

Dr. Tarn sees in the object carried across the body by the seated Azes on the coin *PMCut.*, Pl. XI. 195, "the butt end of the great spear of the cataphracts", *T.*, p. 401. Good specimens show an object represented as slung horizontally behind the body. The hilt or handle is clear; a spear would have a knob, *BMCut.*, Pl. XVIII. 2. It appears to be a club, or a large sword in a scabbard. When the king sits in state, this great ceremonial weapon is arranged across his middle. The right arm is outstretched holding an indistinct object which has been called an *ankus*; with his left hand the king grasps the weapon holding it in position. The equipment of this nomad conqueror, crudely though it is portrayed on the coins, deserves more attention than it has hitherto received.

14. AZILISES [Plate VIII. 9].

This is an Indo-Scythian tetradrachm of Azilises of the rare and interesting type figured at *PMCat.*, Pl. XIII. 334; it belongs to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The reverse side shows a god and a city goddess with a mural crown; in her right hand is a diadem. The type has been discussed by E. J. Rapson, "Indian Coins and Seals, Part VI", *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 788. Professor Rapson speculated on the possibility of this deity being identical with the tutelary divinity of Pushkalāvati, the capital of Gandhāra, as shown on the gold piece *BMCat.*, Pl. XXIX. 15; but the latter, as the protector of the "city of lotuses", carries a lotus and not a diadem. Another Fortune of a city on a silver coin of Azilises, different from the foregoing, is the deity on piece, *PMCat.*, Pl. XIII. 336; she has a diadem in her outstretched right hand, but carries shield, spear, and palm on the left arm. One type of copper money of Azilises exhibits an enthroned deity with a mural crown, *Coins of the Sakas*, Pl. VIII. 6; she appears to be identical with the deity on the obverse of the unique silver coin of Maues, *PMCat.*, Pl. X. 4.²¹

The god on piece Pl. VIII. 9, conventionally called Zeus, holds in his right hand a small curved object, seen more clearly when the deity appears alone, either standing as on the piece *NC.*, Pl. XVII. 12, or as the

²¹ The turreted crown on the Maues coin is clear; I omitted to describe it. Dr. Tarn has a very interesting reference to city Fortunes on Saka coins, *T.*, p. 353. He holds that the deity as depicted on *BMCat.*, Pl. XVIII. 10, and Pl. XX. 9 to 11, is a city goddess; she is shown very clearly on *PMCat.*, Pl. XI. 179, and is discussed at *PMCat.*, p. 132. It is by no means certain that she is the Fortune of a city.

enthroned radiate Zeus on silver coins of Hermaeus, *NC.*, Pl. XVII. 9 and 10. I described this object in a note on the important Eucratides copper coin of Kapisa type as perhaps something connected with the elephant cult, or an amulet or symbol in the shape of a crescent or of horns, *NC.*, p. 319. I remarked that we again see the same object on some silver coins of later kings; to this may safely be added the copper piece of Telephus, *PMCat.*, Pl. VIII. 640. Mr. E. T. Newell calls attention to what he describes as a similar object held by certain deities as depicted on coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, in which case he says that it is invariably held by a sun or moon god, and notes that Cunningham calls it a pair of callipers and explains its significance as a "measurer of time" by years or months as the case may be, *NNM.* 82, p. 91. Mr. Newell suggests that the radiate Zeus-Mithra on his new tetradrachm of Hermaeus, holds callipers in the outstretched right hand; to me the object [Pl. VIII. 5] appears to be the same crescent- or horseshoe-shaped amulet as above, and I give a drawing of it as delineated on a piece of Azilises of type *PMCat.*, Pl. XIII. 320, recently acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Its form is often much less symmetrical.



15. GONDOPHARES.

Obv.

Gk. legend :

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ

YN - - -

Diademed bust of king to l. ; he wears plumed head-

Rev.

Long Kh. legend, tentatively read as *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudupharasa.*

Winged Victory to r. hold-

dress, necklace, and a coat
with embroidered lapels.

ing wreath in outstretched r.
hand, and palm in l. hand
over l. shoulder.

To l. Kh. mon. *man*.

Æ. Wt. 128. [Pl. VIII. 10.] Fitzwilliam Museum.

This is a rare piece of Gondophares; it came from the collection of the late Mr. W. S. Talbot, I.C.S. The coin is not in the *BMCat.*, but was described by Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, Pl. XIII. 3; there is a specimen in the Punjab Museum, *PMCat.*, Pl. XV. 59. The characters of the reverse legend are so badly formed that they are scarcely legible.

16 ARSACES THEOS.

Obv.

Gk. legend:

L. APCAKOY

Above BACIAEWC

R. ΘEOY.

Horse standing r. with
uplifted foreleg.

To r. of horse ♂

Rev.

No legend.

In square of straight lines
surrounded by square of reels
and pellets, bow in bow-
case.

Æ. Sq. Wt. 52.4. [Pl. VIII. 7.] Fitzwilliam Museum.

Nothing is known about Arsaces Theos in spite of his pretentious name, but he appears to have been a subordinate member of the Gondophares dynasty; his coins are extremely rare. The above piece, a good specimen of the Arsacid type, is a recent acquisition of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.²² It

²² See *PMCat.*, pp. 95, 160; the shape is, of course, Indian.

was published by Dr. von Sallet in "Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin, 1879, p. 355 and Pl. VIII. 2. The designs repeat those of a copper coin of Maues, *PMCat.*, Pl. X. 35, while the monogram is found on another coin of Maues, *PMCat.*, Pl. X. 10. A second type, see *Coins of the Sakas*, Pl. XI. 11. 12, links Arsaces Theos with the Indo-Parthians, especially with Abdagases.

Barbarous copies in copper are found of the Bactrian tetradrachms of Heliocles; the framework is a mechanical reproduction of that of reels and pellets. On most of these pieces Zeus is replaced by a standing horse with uplifted foreleg, *PMCat.*, Pl. III. 13⁹, 142—cp. *T.*, p. 322. It does not resemble the horse as found on copper coins of Euthydemus, or on the piece of Eucratides, *CAS.*, Pl. V. 13. I do not know the source of the design, but it is repeated on a square copper coin of Hermaeus, *CAS.*, Pl. XIV. 12, and on the pieces of Maues and Arsaces Theos just described. The reel and pellet border of the Bactrian tetradrachms of Eucratides and Heliocles was often reproduced in later times; it appears on coins Pl. VIII. 1, 6, and 11; striking examples are the piece of Maues, *PMCat.*, Pl. X. 5, modelled on a coin of Demetrius, that of Soter Megas, *PMCat.*, Pl. XVI. 94, and the silver coin of Phseigacharis, *PMCat.*, Pl. XVI. 129, a barbarous imitation of some Bactrian piece. It is even found replacing the usual Kharoshthi legend on some copper coins of Vima Kadphises, *PMCat.*, p. 185.

17. HERAUS.

Obv.

In reel and pellet frame-work diademed bust to r.; long hair and moustache; diadem ends cut short; coat with lapels and open neck.

Rev.

Gk. legend:

ΤΥΙΑΝΝΟΤΟΥΟΣ ΗΡΑΟΥ

- - - Rest of legend not clear.

King on horseback to r., followed by flying figure of Nike with wreath. Legend in corrupt Greek characters in half-circle above, and two straight lines below; no monogram.

R. Wt. 229. [Pl. VIII. 11.] Fitzwilliam Museum.

The coins of the ruler whose name has been read as Heraus or Miaus have been much discussed. References are given on pp. 9, 10 of E. J. Rapson's *Indian Coins*, Strassburg, 1898; recent accounts are Professor A. N. Zograph's *The Coins of Heraus*, Tashkent, 1937, and the concluding half of Dr. Tarn's Appendix 17, *The Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises Coins*, *T.*, pp. 505-7. Yet even the name of the king remains uncertain. The full legend as generally accepted is ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΑΟΥ (or ΜΙΑΟΥ) ΣΑΝΑΒ (or ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ) ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ, *T.*, p. 505; the last word is the equivalent of Kushan, while Sanab or Sanabou is a title or name as yet unexplained. "The word *τυραννοῦντος* shows that Miaus was not a king, but a local ruler of some sort whose position was less than royal," *T.*, p. 505. The tentative attribution to Heraus by Cunningham of a bilingual copper coin must be given up, so his remark is literally true that the money of Heraus is altogether exceptional as it consists entirely of tetradrachms and obols.

Dr. Tarn thinks that Heraus (Miaus), whose country he places between Chitral and the Panjshir district south of the Hindu Kush, was one of the five Yueh-chi princes, that Hermaeus may have given him a relative in marriage, and that Kujula Kadphises was a descendant of this alliance; the tetradrachms were struck at Kapisa, *T.*, pp. 342, 505-7. "The reverse has the type of the Hermaeus and Calliope coins, king on horseback. Miaus' coins are earlier than the Hermaeus-Kadphises coins, since for a monogram they bear the Greek letter B, while one class of the Hermaeus-Kadphises coins has Kharoshthi letters but none have Greek letters." But the king on horseback of Heraus with its typical posture is quite different from the prancing horseman of the Hermaeus and Calliope money²³; also the Greek letter B is not a monogram, but it is the last letter of the word ΣΑΝΑΒ.

A monograph on *The Coins of Heraus*, by A. N. Zograph, was published at Tashkent in 1937. It is intended to be the first of a series of numismatic studies on this region of Uzbekistan; the work will be done by Soviet specialists in a field "till now the monopoly of French and English scholars". Light will be thrown from coins and coin-finds on the questions of the northern boundary of the Bactrian Greek currency, and of the people who replaced the Greeks in these regions. A complete account, accurate and fully documented, is given of the interesting money of Heraus; it is a notable addition to the literature of an obscure and difficult period. In 1925 a gift of coins

²³ And, it may be added, of Hermaeus himself, cp. Pl. VIII. 5 and 11.

from Tashkent to the Hermitage, Leningrad, included certain tetradrachms of Heraus, important for the history of Central Asia at their period, the first century B.C. There are six unpublished tetradrachms; only eight formerly existed in all European collections.²⁴ An additional piece described is of particular interest; it was found between Old and New Tirmidh. The Fitzwilliam Museum coin is therefore the sixteenth known tetradrachm. It differs from the rest because the obverse is convex and not flat; the piece is in fact a restrike of a Seleucid or Bactrian coin. Professor Zograph, like Dr. Tarn, places Heraus in the first century B.C., but holds that he reigned in Bactria, and not south of the Hindu Kush, an opinion based on finds made in Soviet territory.

There is a review of the monograph by S. P. Tolstov on pp. 114 to 119 of *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* (Messenger of Ancient History), Moscow, 1939. He says that the coins certainly come from north of the Hindu Kush, and compares them with pieces found in the Tashkent region which bear a legend in Aramaic characters; this series dates from the third century A.D. to the Arab conquest of Khwarizm.²⁵ The meaning of Sanab or Sanabou is discussed; the reviewer holds that it is a name, not a title.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

²⁴ That at Paris was obtained by M. Hackin at Tashkurgan, north of the Hindu Kush. The piece and its legends are adequately discussed by M. Georges Bataille, *Notes sur la Numismatique des Koushans et des Koushan-Shahs Sassanides*, in *Aréthuse*, Fasc. 18, pp. 20 ff., Paris, 1928.

²⁵ *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, Moscow, 1938, no. 4 (5), pp. 120-45. "The Coins of the Shahs of Ancient Khwarizm and the ancient Khwarizmi Alphabet".

MISCELLANEA.

THE SHAIKHANO DHERI HOARD, MARCH 1940.

THE following is a brief record of a hoard of Indo-Greek coins, found in March 1940, of rather unusual importance.

I know the find-spot well: it is a low but extensive mound near Utmanzai near Charsadda, the ancient Peukalaotis, the actual mound being called Shaikhano Dheri.

The local people dig out from the mound earth for their sugar-cane fields, and it was in the same mound that another important find of coins was made some 12-15 years ago—Whitehead, I believe, secured a good many of the coins then found. On the present occasion the hoard must have consisted of several hundred coins, but, as usual, they were scattered amongst the villagers. Some, I gather, were in a vessel of some sort and others scattered around nearby. It is, however, not so much the number but the variety of the coins which is of interest. So far, I have traced some 120-130 (and I know there are others) and the bulk of these are Menanders of the common type, but I found one hemidrachm with the owl on one side and the helmeted head of Pallas on the other.

Next as regards numbers was Hermaios, again mostly of the common type but I have secured one didrachm and one hemidrachm with the *helmeted* bust to right and the usual Zeus enthroned on the back. I have also traced no less than five hemidrachms of Hermaios and Kalliope and, what is more, two *didrachms* (one broken in half) which are exactly like the hemidrachms with the conjugate busts of the King and Queen.

Next to Hermaios comes Philoxenos, of which I have traced no less than eleven didrachms so far and some hemidrachms. I have secured four or five, including a fine specimen of didrachm with the helmeted head to left with thrusting javelin.

There were, as far as I can make out, five or six Diomedes, but so far I have only been able to trace two of these, but one of them is helmeted with thrusting spear like the Philoxenos.

1. The rulers whose coins were included in this hoard are: Menander, Strato with Agathokleia, Amyntas, Diomedes, Philoxenos, Hermaios, Hermaios with Kalliope.

2. In detail the coins actually secured by me are as follows:—

MENANDER.

Didrachms:

- (1) *Obv.* Helmeted bust of King.
Rev. Pallas. (*P.M.C.* 379.)
- (2) *Obv.* Diademed bust to left with thrusting spear.
Rev. Pallas to left. (*P.M.C.* 382.)
- (3) *Obv.* Diademed bust.
Rev. Pallas. (Two coins.) (*P.M.C.* 373.)

Hemidrachm:

- (4) *Obv.* Helmeted head of Pallas.
Rev. Owl. (*P.M.C.* 480.)

STRATO with AGATHOKLEIA.

Didrachm:

- (1) *Obv.* Conjugate busts.
Rev. Pallas to left. (*P.M.C.* 370 (i).)

AMYNTAS.

Didrachm:

- (1) *Obv.* Helmeted bust to right.
Rev. Zeus enthroned. (*P.M.C.* 79 (i).)

Hemidrachms:

- (2) *Obv.* Helmeted bust to right.
Rev. Zeus enthroned. (*P.M.C.* 79 (iv).)
- (3) *Obv.* Diademed bust to right.
Rev. Zeus enthroned. (*P.M.C.* 635.)

DIOMEDES.

Didrachms:

- (1) *Obv.* Diademed bust to right.
Rev. Mounted Dioscuri. (*P.M.C.* 213.)
- (2) *Obv.* Helmeted bust to left with thrusting spear.
Rev. Mounted Dioscuri. (*N.C.* 1923, Pl. XVI. 10.)

Hemidrachm:

- (3) *Obv.* Helmeted bust to right.
Rev. Dioscuri. (*P.M.C.* 217.)

PHILOXENOS.

Didrachms:

- (1) *Obv.* Diademed bust to right.
Rev. King on horse. (*P.M.C.* 375.)

- (2) *Obv.* Helmeted bust to right.
Rev. King on horse. (Three coins.) (*P.M.C.* 375.)
- (3) *Obv.* Helmeted bust to left with thrusting spear.
Rev. King on horse. (Two coins.) (*P.M.C.* 73 (i).)

Hemidrachms (square):

- (4) *Obv.* Diademed bust to right.
Rev. King on horse. (Two coins.) (*P.M.C.* 578.)

HERMAIOS.

Didrachms:

- (1) *Obv.* Helmeted bust to right.
Rev. Zeus enthroned. (Two coins.) (*P.M.C.* 86 (i).)
- (2) *Obv.* Conjugate busts Hermaios and Kalliope.
Rev. King on prancing horse. (Two coins.) (*N.C.* 1923, Pl. XVII. 7.)
- (3) *Obv.* Diademed bust but with head larger than on the common type.

Hemidrachms:

- (4) *Obv.* Conjugate busts as in (2).
Rev. King on horse. (Three coins.) (*P.M.C.* 693.)
- (5) *Obv.* Helmeted bust to right.
Rev. Zeus enthroned. (*P.M.C.* 652.)
- (6) *Obv.* Diademed bust to right.
Rev. Zeus enthroned. (*P.M.C.* 648.)

3. Other coins which I know were found but have not acquired are:—

	<i>Didrachms.</i>	<i>Hemidrachms.</i>
Menander	5	5
Strato with Agathokleia	1	—
Diomedes	3	1
Philoxenos	10	7 (square)
Hermaios	5	3
Hermaios with Kalliope	1	1
Antialkidas	—	7
Antimachos Nikephoros	—	2

4. The above two lists gives a total of 44 didrachms and 37 hemidrachms or 81 coins of 8 different rulers.

To the best of my knowledge these constitute the most important features of the find, but there were also two hemidrachms of Archebios which appeared at the same time.

I am uncertain whether they were actually part of the same find though they certainly came from the same district. I believe there were a considerable number of common Menanders and Hermaios and a large number of copper coins, mostly defaced. The only copper coin I have acquired is a square coin of Philoxenos with the bull on one side and a Winged Nike on the other. This was said to have come from the same find and may well have done so. It is a very good specimen.

H. L. HAUGHTON (Major-General).

NOTES ON FIVE "BARBAROUS" ROMAN RADIATE COINS.

MR. MATTINGLY'S recent paper¹ in this Journal, in which he describes certain of the more notable "barbarous radiates" in the National Collection, has no doubt stimulated many numismatists to look through their cabinets in search of similar material. At least, that was the effect on the present writer, who after some ten years of haphazard collecting finds that his collection includes a score or so of these curious pieces. Most of these are without particular interest, but the following seem to be worthy of publication:

1. *Obv.* . . . H . . . Square altar.

Rev. As obverse.

Æ, 0.75, 37.6 gr. Prototype, M. & S. (Webb), v (1), p. 233, nos. 259 ff. The H is evidently intended for the N of CONSECRATIO, and only a minute portion of the next letter appears. The interest of this piece lies in the fact that both faces of the coin are struck *from the same die*: the method of production is therefore something of a mystery, but the flan is oval in shape, and the impress of the die occurs at opposite ends. There are faint traces of what may have been a radiate head obliterated by the type on both obverse and reverse.

2. *Obv.* IIPHETRI . . . Bust, radiate, r.

Rev. P Λ V Female figure, probably intended for Pax, standing l., holding olive-branch in r. hand: the l. arm is shown, but not the sceptre.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1938, pp. 247 ff.

Æ, 0.6, 43.3 gr. Prototype, M. & S., v (2), nos. 100-103 of Tetricus I. This coin is of good weight, well struck on a fair round flan, and little worn; but the standing figure is grotesque.

3. *Obv.* . . . ΟΡΟΡΑ . . . Bust, radiate and draped, r.

Rev. VIC. Female figure advancing l., holding wreath and cornucopiae.

Æ, 0.5, 17.6 gr. Although the reverse legend suggests a



VICTORIA type, Mr. Mattingly, on examining the coin, pointed out to the writer that the figure is probably intended for Laetitia, and the prototype would therefore be Tetricus I, M. & S., v (2), nos. 86-90.

4. *Obv.* Λ Bust, radiate and draped l., within plain circle.

Rev. No legend: radiate figure standing facing, holding sceptre and palm-branch.

Æ, 0.6, 29.3 gr., prototype uncertain. The maker of the dies has gone to much trouble to define the circle on the obverse, but has been content with a mere suggestion of a legend.

5. *Obv.* . . . T C V S . . . Bust, radiate, r.

Rev. Uncertain (Mr. Mattingly has suggested that an animal type may have been intended).

Æ, 0.65, 21 gr., prototype uncertain. This coin is almost as fine as struck, but the writer has never yet been able to identify the reverse design, which is complicated by a suggestion of double striking.

The writer regrets that he has no record of the provenance of any of these pieces, but believes that nos. 2 and 5 may be from the Baconsthorpe hoard, part of which came into his hands some years ago.

GILBERT ASKEW.

IX.

THE MINT OF KYME IN THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

THE organization of Greek city mints and the position of the authorities responsible for the issue of coins are problems which have not been much explored: there is little direct evidence about them, and, unless by lucky chance a pertinent inscription should be discovered, there does not seem to be much prospect of finding more. It may, however, be possible to accumulate some material for testing hypotheses by investigation of the issues of particular mints in relation to such historical and economic facts as are available: as an example the third-century B.C. coinage of Kyme in Aeolis is here taken.

There were, in this century, three fairly long series of bronze coins struck at Kyme: the two smaller sizes are assigned in the *Historia Numorum* to c. 320-250, the larger to c. 250-190. Closely linked in style to the two former series is a small group of silver half-drachmas, which is assigned to the same period. All these, with only two exceptions—one silver, the other bronze—have magistrates' names in full, together with a symbol on the silver, in most cases, or a monogram on the bronze, regularly on the larger size and occasionally on the smaller. These monograms are not constantly associated with the same names: some occur with different names, and conversely some names with different monograms. A survey of the

whole is given in the list appended, which has been drawn up from an examination of the London, Paris, and Oxford collections, with a few additions from other published sources, mainly from an article by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in *Z. f. N.*, xx. 277; several more varieties have been described, but, as there has been no opportunity of verifying them, they are not included: they would not affect materially the general conclusions. Against each name for which examples of a denomination are known is noted, in the appropriate column, any symbol or monogram which occurs, or, if there is neither, an 0: the monograms are numbered according to the table. For convenience of reference, a star is placed against the names of magistrates who are recorded for more than one denomination. Where the specimens noted are in the London, Oxford, or Paris collections, the initial letters are added.

	Silver $\frac{1}{2}$ dr.	Bronze <i>b</i> <i>B.M.C.</i> 40-52.	Bronze <i>a</i> <i>B.M.C.</i> 27-39.
Athenagoras	..	17 (o.)	..
Ainetos	..	6 (P.), 12 (O.P.)	..
Alkamenes	ivy-leaf (L.P.)	..	..
*Androteles	..	7 (o.), 25 (O.P.)	0 (O.P.)
Antigonos	0
Antikrates	0 (O.P.), 3 (o.)
Apelles	0 (L.)
Apollodoros	0 (L.O.)
Aralatos	corn-grain	..	..
Aristandros	0 (L.)
Aristophon	..	12 (o.), 25 (L.)	..
Arkesilaos	0
Asbestos	0 (o.)
Attinas	..	20 (o.)	..
Gongylos	0
Damasos	0
Damophilos	..	18 (P.), 25 (o.)	..
Diogenes	0 (o.)
*Dionysios	..	4 (L.O.), 11, 15 (P.), 28 (L.O.)	0 (O.P.)
Dionysophon	0

	Silver $\frac{1}{2}$ dr.	Bronze <i>b</i> <i>B.M.C.</i> 40-52.	Bronze <i>a</i> <i>B.M.C.</i> 27-39.
Domatrios	0 (o.)
Epainetos	0 (o.P.)
Eparitos	..	1 (o.), 7 (L.O.)	..
Epikrates	..	1, 7, 11 (o.P.), 16 (o.), 19 (P.), 28 (o.P.)	..
Epimachos	..	27 (P.)	..
Hermesilaos	0 (o.)
Hermias	0 (L.)
Eubios	..	9 (L.O.P.)	..
*Eunikos	..	5 (o.), 21 (o.)	0 (o.P.)
Zeuxis	0 (P.)
Zopyrion	..	4 (o.), 12 (o.)	..
Heraios	..	8 (o.), 18 (L.)	..
Herakleos	0 (P.)	..	..
Theomenes	0 (L.)
Theudaites	..	2 (P.), 8 (P.), 13 (o.)	..
Theodoros	0
Hikertes	0 (P.)
Hippias	..	7 (o.)	..
Kalydon	0
Kleandros	0	..	..
*Lachares	..	5 (L.O.), 11 (o.), 17 (o.)	0 (o.), 28 (o.)
Lysanias	0
Megistagoras	0 (o.), 29 (o.)
Megistophanes	0 (P.)
Xenon	vase (L.P.)	..	..
*Xenotimos	..	21 (o.), 25 (o.P.)	0 (o.P.)
Parmeniskos	..	28 (o.)	..
Parmenites	..	10 (o.), 17 (o.P.), 22 (L.O.P.)	..
*Pedieus	..	12 (P.), 13 (L.P.)	30 (L.), 31 (L.)
Pelops	0 (o.)
Polyaratos	0 (o.)
*Polyarchos	..	23	0 (L.)
Poseidophanes	0 (o.)
Pythagoras	..	7 (P.), 22 (P.)	..
Pythis	0 (P.)
*Pythonikos	ivy-leaf (P.)	3 (o.), 7 (o.), 13 (L.O.P.)	..
Rhoikos	0
Seisippos	..	26 (o.)	..
Sperchas	..	18	..
Speusippos	..	24 (o.)	..
Stasippos	..	14 (L.), 22, 25 (P.)	..
*Pharsalos	0 (L.P.)	..	0 (L.O.)
Philodoxos	0
Phylakos	0



The list includes the names of sixty-four magistrates, of whom seven are known to have coined silver, twenty-eight bronze of size *b*, and thirty-eight bronze of size *a*. Nine issued more than one denomination; of these, seven struck both sizes of bronze, and two silver and one size of bronze.

The relation of the monograms to the names is not easy to determine. There are in all thirty-one monograms or combinations of letters, though some, such as 7 and 8; 9, 10, and 29; and 23 and 24, seem to be slightly different arrangements of the same letters, and others might be similarly linked. Of the thirty-one, over half—seventeen—occur only in association with one name, while one monogram is found with six different names, one with five, two with four, six with three, and four with two. Conversely, twelve names are linked with one monogram only, ten with two, four with three, three with four, and one with six. As there are numerous crossings in the couplings, it does not seem possible to formulate any chronological order for them: it may be noted that two of the monograms, 7 and 17, recur in the series of bronze *B.M.C.* 59–72, which is assigned to the later period

250-190 on grounds of style. It appears, therefore, that the monograms refer to some secondary element in the control of the coinage, which was not necessarily connected with a single magistrate or group of magistrates.

The monograms can most naturally be explained as abbreviated forms of personal names: it is hardly likely that they are place names, and, though some six of them might be the initial letters of Aeolian month-names, there are too many, even allowing for duplicated forms, to fit the whole into this category. If they represent persons, these must have taken some part in the issue of coins during more than one magistrate's tenure of office in several instances, and their functions were not exercised in the same succession as those of the magistrates. They might be compared with the letters under the amphora on the stephanephoric tetradrachms of Athens; but these, as is natural in a more highly organized mint, are fewer in number and more stable. The incidence of the monograms at Kyme rather suggests that the individuals whom they represent were not permanent officers of state, but might be brought in as occasion required by the monetary magistrate.

An hypothesis which seems likely is that the monograms refer to men who made coins to the order of the magistrate. There is no reason to imagine that regular mints existed in the smaller Greek cities: the apparatus required for the production of coins, apart from the dies, was not more than could be found in an ordinary metal-worker's shop; and, as the issue of coins was unquestionably spasmodic, except in a few great commercial centres, it would have been a waste

of energy to keep a city mint in being on the chance that it would occasionally be wanted to strike coins. If at any time the authorities of the city found that there was a shortage of currency in their markets, the magistrate in whose province the control fell could get dies cut, with his name on them, and entrust the actual striking of the coins to a metal-worker, or, if the quantity required was large, to two or more. In the latter case, he would, for his own protection, instruct each operator to add his own initials on the die handed to him, so that the output of each shop could be distinguished.

On this hypothesis, the absence of monograms on most of the bronze of series *a* can be explained by the fact that, so far as my experience goes, the individual issues of this series were much smaller than those of series *b*: the number of magistrates' names known is larger, but, of the thirty-eight, twenty-five are only recorded in single examples. If these issues could normally be supplied from a single shop, it would be unnecessary to add a further mark on the dies. It is consonant with this that the issues of this series on which monograms occur are commoner than most others: in the Oxford collection alone there are four of Antikrates, two of Lachares, and four of Megistagoras, while only one other magistrate is represented there by two examples, and twelve more by one each: the small coins of Pedieus are not so common, but he also struck fairly plentifully in the larger size. It is noticeable that in series *a* the letters in three cases are not arranged in monograms, as they are in series *b*; but this difference does not seem important: it may be added that series *a* is more carelessly struck than

series *b* in regard to the adjustment of the dies, which are not infrequently out of plane. It may be more significant that symbols are found in place of monograms on the silver; but there is no reason to think that the symbols served a different purpose from the monograms, and their use on the silver may have been due to aesthetic considerations.

The date assigned for the commencement of these series—320 B.C.—seems approximately correct by the test of style. Some of the eagles and half-horses look rather earlier, but there was frequently a time-lag in the art of Greek die-engravers, who, at any rate in the Aegaeon area, were very conservative; and the Kymaean artists of 320 might well have been working on the models of their fathers. The series may have gone on after 250: the number of magistrates' names known is of course no guide for the length of the issue, as it is clear from the records of series which were regularly dated that even in fairly large series a year or two might pass without the issue of any coins of which specimens survive. But it is certain that the bronze series *a* and *b* circulated freely with the larger coins of the series *B.M.C.* 59-72, which is regarded as beginning in 250, and examples of the three series found together show about the same degree of wear (e.g. in the hoard published in *N.C.* 4. xiii. 389); so it is conceivable that they were struck concurrently, the style of each series being set at the start of the issue.

Economic considerations point to the same conclusion: western Asia Minor first became familiar with the use of small bronze coinage under Alexander the Great, and, as the supply of his bronze ran out, the cities naturally took to issuing their own. Not much,

however, of a larger size than the common Alexandrine denomination was struck before the second half of the third century: at Smyrna the bronze obol (the Homereion) did not appear till the second century. There are hardly any small bronze coins of Kyme which would be ascribed on grounds of style to the same period as *B.M.C.* 59-72, except for a very common group *B.M.C.* 54-7, for which only three magistrates are known, of about the same size as series *a*, and a rarer set of coins of about half this size with two names of magistrates. The introduction of the larger size would not do away with the need for the smaller, and it is unlikely that the market of Kyme could have carried on for some sixty years with only three fresh issues of denomination *a* and none of denomination *b*.

What the denominations were can only be conjectured: as in nearly all Greek bronze series, the weights at Kyme varied widely and give little absolute guide of values. Of the two smaller series, *b* is approximately of the same size as the contemporary series at Smyrna, the nearest important mint for bronze, which probably circulated as half-obols: if this was the value at Kyme, series *a* would probably be dichalka: they weigh on the average about two-thirds of *b*, but in bronze token coinages, even when the weights are fixed, denominations are not related to one another by value in metal: a half-penny does not weigh half, but three-fifths, of a penny. Half-obols and dichalka would be convenient denominations for use in a currency whose lowest silver coin was a half-drachma. In this case the larger series which began about 250, and which weighed on an average a little less than double the half-obol, would be an

obol: the run of the weights is not much below that of the Smyrna obols of the second century.

There was a marked decline in the issue of bronze at Kyme in the second century: the only common bronze coins are of the half-obol size in the names of Apatourios and Zoilos (*B.M.C.* 87-92). Silver tetradrachms of this period are plentiful, and there are a few drachmas, so there must have been some amount of overseas trade: but the drop in the output of bronze, which would be mainly wanted for local business transactions, taken in conjunction with the great increase in the issue of bronze at Smyrna, suggests that the country folk of the lower Hermos valley were making Smyrna their market in place of Kyme. A similar decline, presumably from the same cause, can be traced at Phocaea.

J. G. MILNE.

X.

ISSUES OF THE *SOLIDI* "VICTORIA AVGG" FROM TREVERI.

[SEE PLATES IX-XI.]¹

UNDER the title of "The First Corbridge Find", Mr. H. A. Grueber described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1913, pp. 31-56, the hoard of forty-eight *solidi* unearthed at Corbridge in Northumberland in 1908. The hoard centres in the reign of Gratian. Nearly all the coins are from the mint of Treveri, and, of these, thirty-one have the reverse type VICTORIA AVGG "Two emperors seated". The emperors represented, and the numbers found for each are: Valentinian I (2), Valens (2), Gratian (14, including one barbarous), Valentinian II (8), Theodosius (4), Magnus Maximus (1). This type, unchanged except in small but well-marked details of obverse or reverse, persisted in distinctively western issues for nearly thirty years from early in the reign of Valentinian I to the end of that of Eugenius. It is clearly the numismatist's task to establish, as closely as he can, the sequence of these issues, and Grueber in the above-mentioned article attempted this for the reign of Gratian. The criteria on which he relied, viz. the variation in the style of diadem and the indications of age given by the portraiture, are shown by further research to be inadequate

¹ In some cases the edges of obverse and reverse will be seen not to correspond exactly. This is due to the fact that the illustrations were made from casts roughly taken by myself.

for his purpose or, indeed, actually misleading, and a wider survey of the available evidence is needed, which will take account of factors lying outside the limited range of that supplied by the hoard itself.

So far as I know, nothing has since been written on this subject beyond the brief suggestions on the succession of these issues offered by myself in my lists of the Valentinian—Honorius coinage published some years ago in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*.² My aim in the present paper is to bring forward evidence bearing upon this and, incidentally, some other numismatic problems connected with the mint of Treveri.

From the death of Constantine in 337 the mint of Treveri seems gradually to have declined in importance until, after the departure of Julian for the East, it was temporarily closed. Only Lugdunum and Arelate continued to strike in Gaul during this latter part of Julian's reign, and the Gallic coinage of his short-lived successor, Jovian, comes from Arelate alone.

The return of an emperor to the West brought new activity to the Gallic mints. Valentinian, chosen by the soldiery to succeed Jovian in February 364, had been forced by them to co-opt a colleague for the unwieldy empire, and had nominated his brother Valens. Leaving Valens to guard the East, he was now himself free to deal with the formidable enemies who were threatening his Rhine frontier, and henceforth his headquarters were in Gaul.

The new reign had been inaugurated with the issue of a new type **RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE** (or

² Reprinted as *The Roman Coinage from A.D. 364 to 423*, London, 1933.

shortened REIP) "Emperor standing, holding labarum and Victory on globe", struck at all the mints of both Western and Eastern empires in one or another of the metals, gold, silver, or bronze. While the Æ 3 of this issue is rare, and was, apparently, soon superseded by the GLORIA ROMANORVM "Emperor dragging captive" and the SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE "Victory advancing l." which persisted up to, and beyond, the end of Valentinian I's reign, the *solidus* and *siliqua* must, on the evidence of hoards, have had a much longer output. The Dortmund hoard of 430 *solidi*, buried c. A.D. 408,³ contains 128 pieces of this issue, and, while the great majority are of Antioch, the Gallic mints have a good representation. The East Harptree hoard of nearly 1,500 *siliquae*, buried just after the end of the VRBS ROMA "Throne" type issue, has still 168 specimens of the *Restitutor*⁴ type to some 130 of the *Urbs Roma*.

Of the denominations struck with the *Restitutor* type it would seem that the *solidus* survived longest. It is the only denomination found from Treveri. The *siliquae* and Æ 3, struck at both Lugdunum and Arelate, must have run their course before Treveri was recalled to mint-activity. The occasion for this change in the

³ So Regling in *Der Dortmunder Fund römischer Goldmünzen*, Dortmund 1908, p. 12, but since his no. 371, *Concordia Augg^B* of Honorius with helmeted obverse is a variety known only for the two Augusti, Honorius and Theodosius II, and as I think the third "Augustus" must be sought for in the Augusta Pulcheria, whose elevation to that rank occurred in A.D. 414, I should accordingly date the hoard some six years later.

⁴ Yet in later hoards this type is rarely found. The North Mendip hoard with about 2,000 *siliquae*, buried some twenty years later, has 360 of the *Urbs Roma* "Throne" type, none of the *Restitutor*. There is no appreciable difference in weight.

fortunes of its mint may be found in the emperor's project of making Treveri his permanent residence. After Gratian's elevation, he is constantly there. We may reasonably infer that the earliest Treveran coinage under Valentinian, comprising only the *solidus* denomination of the *Restitutor* type and—connected with this by the portraiture—the two new Æ3 types, which had superseded the Æ3 RESTITVTOR REIP, did not begin before c. 367. However, in these issues Gratian's name does not appear and they are presumably to be dated shortly before his elevation. This is all that Treveri has to show for the period February 364 to August 367, during which Lugdunum and Arelate had struck not only the *Restitutor* type in all three metals but also *miliarensia*, heavier and lighter, and—Lugdunum at least—two other *siliqua* types VOT V MVLX and VRBS ROMA. But, once reopened, Treveri soon established a primacy over all the other gold- and silver-striking mints of the Western empire, which it maintained by its large and repeated issues of the *solidus* VICTORIA AVGG and the *siliquae* VRBS ROMA and, then, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, until Gratian in 381 transferred his residence to Mediolanum, and continued his coinage in gold and silver from the mints of North Italy.

Several issues of VICTORIA AVGG from Treveri bear the uniform style of mint-mark TROBC, TROBS, TROBT, the final letters denoting the first, second, and third *officina* respectively. This is the only style represented on Gratian's Treveran coins in the Corbridge Find, except for a barbarous example which has TROZ. But, though by far the commonest, this is not the earliest mint-mark with which the type

appears, and we must take account of evidence unknown to Grueber when he attempted to trace its course.

The gold coinage at Treveri during Valentinian I's reign shows a clear stratification by means of the successive mint-marks $\overline{\text{TR}}$ (with or without added signs or dots), $\overline{\text{SMTR}}$, $\overline{\text{TROB}}$ (with or without added dots), $\overline{\text{TROBC}}$ (S, T). VICTORIA AVGG appears only with the last two of these but will be viewed in truer perspective, if brought into relation with the whole series.

I give these *N* mint-marks in their chronological succession, with such notes on the coinage in general as may help towards their more precise dating.

I. $\overline{\text{TR}}$.

Side by side with TR we find its varieties $\text{TR}\bullet$, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{TR}}$, $\bullet\text{TR}\bullet$, $\text{TR}\ast$, $\text{TR}\bullet\ast$, $\text{TR}\varnothing$, $\bullet\text{TR}\ddagger$, and TRS .

The *solidus* $\text{RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE}$, the only type, with the exception of a *siliqua* (? unique) with *vota* reverse on which this style of mint-mark occurs, would seem to have been issued from Treveri in large numbers. In the Dortmund Find this mint is represented by fourteen specimens against sixteen from Arelate and eight from Lugdunum. If, as I think, it was re-started only after the sister-mints had been in active operation for two or three years, it must at once have become responsible for the main supply of gold currency in the Western empire.

Valentinian I and Valens alone appear in this issue, with obverses:

{ DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG or, very rarely,
 { DN VALENTIN-IANVS P F AVG
 DN VALEN-S P F AVG

Both have bust, pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed r.

A comparison of the portraiture of PL. IX. 1 and PL. XI. 10 leaves little doubt in my mind that issues of Æ3 with the two types GLORIA ROMANORVM and SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE, which had superseded the Æ3 RESTITVTOR REIP, accompanied the gold issue. All Treveran *Aes* issues of this period are either rare or scarce, but this issue with m.m. TRP*(S) is the least rare. Of thirty-two specimens noted by me, all are of Valentinian I or Valens, none of Gratian. Another link between *N* and Æ is the occurrence in both of the very rare division N-I in Valentinian's name.

A little while ago I should have stated, with as much assurance as a numismatist can ever allow himself to feel, that Treveri struck no silver during this earliest period of the reopened mint. A cast of a *siliqua* of Valens with *rev.* VOT V MVLX TR, very kindly sent me by Dr. F. Mayreder, suggests that such a statement would have been wrong. But I find that Valens' obverse bust is identical with that on a similar *vota* coin of Lugdunum, and it seems likely that the die was supplied by an actively working to a temporarily dormant mint, as I think Treveri to have been at the time when such *vota* coins would most naturally have been struck, i.e. early in the reign. Dr. Mayreder's coin seems to be unique, but at Leningrad there is a similar *siliqua* of Valentinian I with *obv.* DN VALENTI-NIANVS P A and *rev.* VOT | V |

MVLT I | X $\overline{\text{TR}}$. This is semi-barbarous, but must, I suppose, be an imitation of an actual legitimate coin. Both are unconnected, I think, with our present issue of *N* and \mathcal{A} , but are interesting as showing the mint-mark TR of the pre-Gratian period.

An important side-question is suggested by these "unique" *vota* coins. How is it that, while some *vota* issues were so huge, e.g. the VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX *siliquae* of Constantius II, that no further issues of this denomination were needed for the remainder of the reign, others, far more numerous, are known in very few or, oftener, single specimens? I myself have two "unique" \mathcal{A} 4 *vota* coins of Treveri, and Colonel Ulrich-Bansa, the eminent Italian numismatist, some half-dozen of Aquileia. Many more, presumably, are still awaiting discovery. Evidently, these small issues were not intended to supply the needs of the currency. They point rather to a kind of medallic commemoration, obligatory upon the mints, of the great quinquennial festivals. It seems difficult, otherwise, to account for the borrowing by Treveri of a die for an issue, which has come down to us in a single coin.

II. $\overline{\text{SMTR}}$.

The mint of Treveri now enters on a period of great activity, and strikes with this mint-mark *N multipla, solidi*, both heavier and lighter *miliarensia* and \mathcal{A} 2. Nearly all these coins that I have seen have a fairly uniform and very distinctive portraiture, which persists during the first part of the following $\overline{\text{TROB}}$ issues. With it the busts are pearl-diademed—Gratian's diadem being often represented as having three, instead

of the usual two, "tails"—, and the lines of the drapery, falling from the right and left shoulders, instead of converging downwards as an uncompleted "V", are usually joined near the edge of the coin by a horizontal fold. Though details may vary in regard to dress or features, showing the handiwork of more than one artist, yet the SMTR portrait is, I think, unmistakable, and a comparison with that on the contemporary *miliarensia* from Lugdunum and Arelate, illustrated by Prof. Alföldi in *Num. Chron.*, 1924, Pls. V and VI, suggests that in all we have different renderings of a common model sent to the three Gallic mints after Gratian's elevation. The portraiture of the two senior emperors is, as a rule, equally unmistakable on their coins of this period.

Within the time-limits of this SMTR coinage come the accession of Gratian and the celebration of the *quinquennalia* of Valentinian I and Valens, and they are enough to account for its exceptional richness. We have:

N: *Multipla*.

FELIX ADVENTVS AVGGG "Emperor on horse-back l."; = $1\frac{1}{2}$ *solidus*.

GLORIA REIPUBLICAE "Victory standing, writing VOT V MVLT X on a shield"; = 3 *solidi*.

The coin of Valentinian in Gneecchi, *Med. Rom.*, Pl. 14. 7, has a portrait quite unlike that which is usual with m.m. SMTR. It seems to be a survival from the earlier portraiture seen on the Æ 3 with m.m. TRP✕.

GLORIA ROMANORVM "Rome and Constantinople seated"; = 3 *solidi*.

None of these seems to have been found for all three emperors, though, presumably, all were struck in the three names.

A: *Solidi*

RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE This, as in the previous $\overline{\text{TR}}$ issue, occurs for the two senior emperors only [Pl. IX. 2.].

PRINCIPIVM IVVENTVTIS "Emperor standing r., holding transverse spear and globe." [Pl. IX. 3.]

It is noteworthy that, with identical obverse, the standing emperor of the reverses is represented as both with, and without, the *nimbus*. This coin occurs for Gratian only, and may be regarded as complementary to the *Restitutor* type continued for Valentinian and Valens.

VOTA PVBLICA "Two emperors seated, holding *mappa* and sceptre."

This is found only for Valentinian and Valens. This type is usually taken as referring to an imperial consulship, and so would find its appropriate place in 368. Alföldi (*A Festival of Isis in Rome*, Budapest, 1937, p. 53) prefers to connect it with the games, symbolized by the *mappa*, which marked the quinquennial votive celebrations. The date (February 368—February 369) would be roughly the same.

A: Heavier *miliarensis*.

VOTIS V MVLTIS X in wreath. [Pl. XI. 1.]

A: Lighter *miliarensis*.

VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM "Victory standing, writing VOT V MVLT X on a shield." [Pl. XI. 2.]

VIRTVS EXERCITVS "Emperor standing with standard and shield."

These are linked by an obverse identity of Gratian.

Æ 2. GLORIA ROMANORVM "Camp-gates with S between the turrets." [Pl. XI. 12.]

A similar issue is found only from Constantinople (m.m. $\overline{\text{CONSA}}$).

All these have the mint-mark $\overline{\text{SMTR}}$. Some issues of $\text{Æ}3$ with mint-marks $\overline{\text{TRP}}$, $\frac{*}{\text{TRP}}$, and, with larger bust of Gratian, $\frac{\text{D}}{\text{TRP}}$, are shown by the portraiture to belong to this, or the earlier part of the next, period.

While the *A multiplum* commemorating the "happy arrival of the three Augusti" may refer to the emperors' progress to Treveri after the elevation of Gratian at Ambianum (Valens being present, of course, only in the spirit), most of this coinage must be connected with the celebration of the *quinquennalia* of Valentinian I and Valens. The *miliarensia* are parallel to those struck at Lugdunum and Arelate with the mint-marks $\cdot\text{S}\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{L}\cdot\text{A}\cdot\text{P}$ and SMKAP (cf. Alföldi, *Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 69 ff.). When at the two latter mints VOTIS V MVLTVS X is followed, with the same mint-marks, by VOTIS X MVLTVS XV , we can hardly doubt that the two issues come closely together, viz. at the end of the first, and at the beginning of the second, *quinquennium* respectively. As only the lower *vota* figures appear on the Treveran coins with mint-mark SMTR , this would seem to have come to an end by February 369.

III. $\overline{\text{TROB}}$

Varieties of this mint-mark are $\text{TROB}\cdot$, $\text{TR}\cdot\text{OB}$,⁵ $\text{TR}\cdot\text{OB}\cdot$, $\cdot\text{TROB}\cdot$, $*\text{TROB}\cdot$, $*\text{TR}\cdot\text{OB}$. It must have been discontinued before August 372, as a *semis* of Gratian [Pl. IX. 10] with the later mint-mark TROBT still shows the figures of his first *quinquennium*.

⁵ The dot within the mint-mark is usually triangular; at the beginning or end, circular.

It is with this mint-mark **TROB** that we find the earliest issues of the *solidus* **VICTORIA AVGG** "Two emperors seated". They are represented as equal in size, and have the left leg bare. Later issues will represent them sometimes as of unequal size and with drapery covering both legs.

We note at once two well-marked stages within the limits of this mint-mark :

(a) The portraiture is that of the **SMTR** period, with its pearl-diadem. The *obv.* legend of Valens is unchanged, viz. **DN VALEN-S P F AVG.**

(b) The portraiture is quite different. The features are those familiar to us from the *siligua* **VRBS ROMA** "Throne" type [Cf. Pl. IX. 11, 12, and Pl. XI. 5-7.], and are accompanied by the rosette-diadem. Their combination with the pearl-diadem has been noted by me only on one specimen, illustrated in Pl. IX. 11. The *obv.* legend of Valens has a changed division, viz. **DN VALENS-P F AVG.**, and so remains till the end of his reign. Gratian's *obv.* legend has the unbroken form throughout this period, but, as we shall see, is changed in period IV to the broken form **A-N**. Valentinian I has from first to last the unvarying **DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG.**

The mint-mark **TROB** and its varieties are all rare, the least rare being **TR•OB•**. The occurrence of any one of them for any one emperor probably implies that it should be found also for the other two, but those actually noted by me are as follows:—⁶

⁶ From v. Koblitz *In der Münzstätte Treveri geprägte Münzen von Valentinianus sen. bis zum Aufhören der Prägung* I can add: Valens (**NS-**) r. d. **TROB•**, Gratian r. d. **TROB•**; also, apparently connecting this with the following issue, Valentinian I r. d. **TR•OBC**, and Valens (**NS-**) p. d. **TR•OBT**. It is impossible at present to trace these coins and ascertain the portraiture. As **TROB•**, **TR•OB**, and **TR•OB•** are all found with both styles of diadem and portraiture, they seem to have been used

1. With SMTR portrait and pearl-diadem:

Valentinian I TROB, TROB., TR·OB, TR·OB.,
*TROB., *TR·OB.

Valens (N-S) TROB., TR·OB..

Gratian TROB., TR·OB, TR·OB..

2. With VRBS ROMA portrait and rosette diadem:

Valentinian I TR·OB..

{ Valens (N-S) TROB., TR·OB.. These transition
coins seem to be exceedingly rare.

{ „ (NS-) TR·OB.. [Pl. IX. 13.]

Gratian TR·OB, TR·OB.. A transition coin
has been noted above for Gratian, showing
pearl-diadem combined with *Urbs Roma* portrait
[Pl. IX. 11]. The barbarous "Gratian" [Pl. IX. 7]
—Grueber's no. 21 of the Corbridge Find—with
m.m. TRO2, shows a very good imitation of the
SMTR portrait (even to the three "tails" of the
diadem), and the mint-mark is a blundered TROB.

Other gold coinage shown by the mint-mark to be con-
temporary is:

N: *Multiplum* = 2 *solidi*.

GLORIA ROMANORVM "Rome and Constantinople
seated"; TR·OB. Found for Valentinian I
(rosette-diademed).

Solidi.


GLORIA REIPUBLICAE "Rome and Constantinople
seated, holding shield inscribed VOT X MVLT
XV"; TROB Valentinian I, TR·OB Valens (N-S),
both pearl-diademed, and with SMTR portrait.

PRINCIPIVM IVVENTVTIS "Emperor, not nimbate,
standing r., holding transverse spear and globe";
TROB. Gratian, pearl-diademed and with
SMTR portrait; obverse legend unbroken. A
coin (? unique) from the Dortmund Find, illus-
trated in *Der Dortmunder Fund römischer Gold-
münzen*, Taf. II. 201.

contemporaneously, the variation in the position of the dots
perhaps serving, like the letters C, S, T of the following issue,
to distinguish the *officinae*.

TRIVMFATOR GENT BARB "Emperor standing, with kneeling captive"; TR·OB. Found for Valentinian I, pearl-diademed and with SMTR portrait.

VICTORES AVGVSTI "Two emperors, one smaller, seated." Found for Valentinian I with TROB, TR·OB, TR·OB., and for Valens (N-S) with

TR·OB and  TR·OB. The obverse bust is

helmeted, holding spear in front and shield. The helmet is adorned with stars. A specimen (?unique), no. 754 in the Amécourt sale catalogue, shows Valentinian with the normal pearl-diademed bust; m.m. TROB. This type is not found for Gratian, who has, however, with precisely similar obverse busts the following type, unshared with the senior emperors. The two types seem to have been struck simultaneously, as complementary to each other.

VOTA PVBLICA "Two emperors seated, each holding *mappa* and sceptre"; TR·OB. This coin, with helmeted obverse, is not particularly rare. A specimen (?unique) in the Dortmund hoard (*op. cit.*, Taf. II, 236) shows Gratian's normal SMTR portrait, pearl-diademed and with unbroken legend. All other known instances of this type have *obv.* bust draped in triumphal costume and holding aloft a *mappa*, and were struck for actually ruling Augusti. If the type, as is generally assumed, refers to an imperial consulship, the coin must be dated 371; if, as Alföldi thinks, to the payment of the quinquennial *vota*, the date would still lie between August 371 and August 372.

An excellent illustration of the change from the SMTR pearl-diademed, to the *Urbs Roma* rosette-diademed, portrait is given by the two $1\frac{1}{2}$ *scripulum* gold coins of Gratian on Pl. IX. 8, 9. Incidentally one may draw attention to the divided (A-N) form of his obverse legend here, in contrast to the undivided

form always found on his contemporary *solidi*. While only the divided form is used for a ruling Augustus, it seems that for a merely titular Augustus either form was used indifferently.

There seems to be no silver corresponding to the earlier stage of the *N* TROB issue. The *Æ* mint-mark following on SMTR is TRPS•, but I have seen this, on both *miliarensia* and *siliquae*, only with what I have called the *Urbs Roma* portraiture. The heavier *miliarensia*, found for all three emperors, with VOTIS V MVLTVS X TRPS• [Pl. XI. 3] must commemorate Gratian's *vota*, and so strengthen the evidence from the *semis*, mentioned above, that this style of portraiture came in before August 372. As with the mint-mark SMTR, we find also the lighter *miliarensia* VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM TRPS•, but with change of legend on the shield held by Victory to VOT V MVLTVS X [Pl. XI. 4]. Although these seem to be known only for Valens, the *vota* can hardly refer to him, as on the *solidus* GLORIA REIPVBLICAE [Pl. IX. 4, 5] with the earlier SMTR portraiture, the *vota* of the senior emperors are given as X-XV. The issue of the *siliqua* VRBS ROMA "Throne" type may have begun during the latter part of this *N* TROB period; cf. Pl. IX. 11, 12 and Pl. XI. 6, 7. I have seen no specimens with the SMTR portraiture.

That the *vota* of Pl. XI. 1, 2 cannot refer to the same occasion as those of Pl. XI. 3, 4 is suggested by other points of contrast besides the portraiture, though this, I think, would be evidence enough in itself. In the contemporary *Æ* 3, which, though rare, occurs with a considerable variety of mint-marks, I have never found the SMTR [Pl. XI. 11] and the *Urbs Roma* [Pl. XI. 13]

styles of Gratian's portraiture linked by the same mint-mark.

IV. TROBC (S, T)

The mint-mark is now lengthened by the addition of an *officina* letter, C, S, or T. C, explained as an abbreviation of *capitalis* is used, instead of the regular P, to indicate the first *officina*. This style of mint-mark which began before the expiration of Gratian's first *quinquennium* lasted unchanged throughout the rest of his reign. In order to distinguish the issues of VICTORIA AVGG struck during this long period, we must take account of slight variations occurring on obverse or reverse, and note with what combination of emperors they occur. Comparison of the portraiture with that found on other denominations will help to give at least a relative dating.

Obverse variations are: (1) the change in Gratian's name from the unbroken to the broken style; (2) the change from rosette- to pearl-diadem.

Reverse variations are: (1) the change from "Emperors equal" to "Emperor on r. smaller"; (2) the change from "Left leg bare" to "Both legs draped".

First issue.

There is here no change except of mint-mark. The emperors represented are: [I give in brackets their numbers in the three *officinae*, as shown in my collection of casts and photographs.]

DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG (C 5, S 2, T 4).

DN VALENS-P F AVG (C 2, S 2, T 4).

DN GRATIANVS P F AVG (C 1, S 1, T 6).

[Pls. IX. 14; X. 1, 2.]

There is no appreciable difference between the portraiture of this, and that of the foregoing TR•OB•, issue in its later, i.e. the rosette-diademed stage.

Second issue.

If it were not for the change in Gratian's obverse legend to

DN GRATIA-NVS P F AVG (C 5, S 1, T 1).
[Pl. X. 3.]

there would be no possibility of distinguishing, or even of assuming, a second issue. The bust is by no means always larger, as it is in my illustration. The coins of the two senior emperors given above must be taken to cover this issue also. In the two issues together we have eleven specimens for Valentinian I, ten for Valens, eight for Gratian with unbroken, seven for him with broken, legend. Though we have seen that either form of legend can be used indifferently for a merely titular boy-emperor, yet the sudden change from the hitherto invariable custom on this *solidus* forces itself upon our notice. It is accompanied by a—generally—larger portrait, often represented with a slight growth of beard upon the cheeks, much less marked, however, than that seen on Gratian's *solidi* struck at Sirmium after his uncle's death.

Together, the higher numbers for Gratian, his changed legend and larger bust with its possible suggestion of mourning lead one to suspect that this second issue should be dated just after his father's death. That there are no corresponding coins in the name of the young Valentinian II need not surprise us. He is equally absent from the *siliqua* issue of VRBS ROMA

"Throne" type, the greater part of which must have been struck after Valentinian I's death.

Third issue.

The reverse remains as before, but the obverses show great changes. The emperors represented in this issue are:

DN VALENS-P F AVG (C 6, S 2, T 1). [Pl. X. 4.]

DN GRATIA-NVSP F AVG (C 2, S 2, T 4). [Pl. X. 5.]

DN VALENTINIANVS IVN P F AVG (C 5, S 4, T 1). [Pl. X. 6, 7.]

The pearl- has now replaced the rosette-diadem, and there is a quite different portraiture of Valens and Gratian ("curls" portrait). It is that seen in the latest stage of the *siliqua* VRBS ROMA "Throne" type, and throughout the issue of its successor VRBS ROMA "cuirass" type [Pl. XI. 8, 9]. I have chosen, to illustrate Gratian [Pl. XI. 8], a *siliqua* with his *vota* X-XV, which has obverse identity with one of the former issue. I think his "curls" portrait, seen here, began at about the time of the final celebration of his second quinquennial vows in August 377, and that a gap of over a year separates the second and third issues of the *solidus* VICTORIA AVGG.

As accurate dating is the first task of the numismatist, I will state my grounds for placing the introduction of the "curls" portrait at the end of the final year of Gratian's second *quinquennium*, in the hope that they may be criticized, and, if wrong, corrected. There is a *miliarense* VOTIS X MVLTI XX TRPS., which I know in four specimens for Valens, one for Gratian. As I have met with none for Valentinian I, I must suppose that it was struck after his death. The

vota, then, will be Gratian's. Valens had completed his second *quinquennium* in March 374. The portraiture is quite unlike that on the *siliquae* with *vota* X-XV, but corresponds well enough with that on the mass of the VRBS ROMA *siliquae* struck in the year following Valentinian's death. It would suit the date of Gratian's first celebration of his *vota* in August 376, and the "curls" portrait can, I think, find its appropriate place only some twelve months later.

It is, of course, strange that, if the *vota* are Gratian's, Valens should be so much more strongly represented. Fresh evidence may be forthcoming on the issue of these seemingly extremely rare *miliarensia*, which may show that there is a better way of explaining the coinage of this period than that which I have suggested.

Two coins of Gratian with "curls" portrait but rosette-diadem must be noted. One shares reverse die-identity with a pearl-diademed obverse. I have found no instance of the rosette-diadem for either of the other emperors in this issue, and I think that its occurrence for Gratian must be due to the die-sinker's carelessness. So, too, I would explain another coin of Gratian which gives him the handsome features of the "curls" portrait, but without the curls.

Fourth issue.

The portraiture of this issue closely resembles that of the third. The obverse of Valens on Pl. X. 4 occurs identically in this fourth issue. But there are striking variations in the reverse type. The emperor on the right is smaller and evidently represents Valentinian II; and the emperors have both legs draped—

a treatment of the drapery henceforth universal on this type, except at Thessalonica, where it is never found, either with the mint-mark TESOB or with its successor COM.

As in the last issue, the emperors represented are :

DN VALENS-P F AVG (S 1, T 1). [Pl. X. 8.]

DN GRATIA-NVS P F AVG (T 12). [Pl. X. 9.]

DN VALENTINIANVS IVN P F AVG (T 14).
[Pl. X. 11.]

If we look at the numbers we note the scanty representation of Valens. We note, too, the absence of *officina C* throughout. With reverse precisely similar in the new treatment of the drapery, but showing the two emperors of equal size, we have the obverse :

DN THEODO-SIVS P F AVG (C 13). [Pl. X. 12.]

Like the other emperors, he is pearl-diademed.

It is hard to resist the conclusion that this issue is separated by a considerable interval of time from the last. The portraiture of Gratian, which might seem to warrant a closer connexion, remained, in fact, unchanged on his Treveran *solili* from the time of his *decennalia* in 377 to the transference of his Court and his gold mint to Milan in 381. It is then continued on his coinage at his young brother's North Italian mints (cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 211). I should suggest as the date of this issue the winter of 380/1, when Gratian had returned to Treveri from Pannonia. On his way he had stayed for some time at Aquileia, and had there struck VICTORIA AVGG with the mint-mark AQOBF. That issue, like the present, was in two parts, but, unlike it, gave the "Emperors equal" variety

to both Gratian and Theodosius, the "One emperor smaller" to Valentinian II alone. An earlier issue from Thessalonica shows the same differentiation of type-varieties between the emperors (cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 230) as Aquileia. Our present issue from Treveri forms, I think, the third in the series, but with the change that Gratian now associates himself with Valentinian II's, instead of with Theodosius's, reverse.

The portraiture of Valentinian II would suit the date suggested above. The smaller bust, with which he appears in most of the coins of the third issue, quite disappears in this. Theodosius seems to have inherited the portrait of Valens.

The rare coins of Valens, struck, if I am correct in my views, more than a year after his death, must be hybrids. The fact that one of his two coins of this issue, that I have seen, is struck from an obverse die already used for the previous issue, supports this conclusion. The other coin, illustrated on Pl. X. 8, alone of my forty-one specimens of this issue comes from *officina S.*⁷

There is an interesting coin in the Vatican Cabinet [Pl. X. 10], which with the reverse variety of this issue combines a rosette-diademed obverse portrait. It cannot be called barbarous, but, as certainly, I think,

⁷ Miss J. M. C. Toynbee in her article "Two New Roman Medallions" mentions Col. Ulrich-Bansa's attribution of the 10-solidus piece of Valens, *RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE*, to a posthumous issue (cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1940, p. 12, n. 11). It certainly shows the latest portrait of Valens. If posthumous, it would most fittingly be dated to the period of Treveri's gold-striking activity in A.D. 380-381. Its mint-mark *TROBS*, so strangely rare on the solidi, suggests that the second *officina* may have been virtually restricted to the production of these *multipla*.

cannot be recognized as legitimate. The features are unlike Gratian, and there is an unprofessional stiffness in the representation of the two seated emperors on the reverse. I must consider it a very skilful imitation, but wonder why the imitation did not extend to the diadem.

V. TROB

The reverse shows the emperors equal, and with both legs draped. The obverses are:

DN MAG MA-XIMVS P F AVG. Bust rosette-diademed. [Pl. X. 13.]

DN THEODO-SIVS P F AVG. Bust pearl-diademed. [Pl. X. 14.]

With similar type and mint-mark to those of his **VICTORIA AVGG** but with one emperor smaller, Maximus struck the *solidus* **BONO REIPVBLICE NATI** in the sole name of his son, Victor, and with mint-mark $\frac{* |}{\text{SMTR}}$ he restored in his own sole name the earlier *solidus* **RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE** of Valentinian I.

As the Corbridge find contains twelve of the *Restitutor* to one of the *Victoria* type, it is a fair inference that the former was the earlier struck. Its type and mint-mark, as well as the later mint-mark **TROB**, recall the coinage of Valentinian I. Possibly there is a propagandist aim in this, and Maximus, ignoring the *roi-fainéant* Gratian—as he stigmatized him—claims to be regarded as the true successor of the energetic Valentinian.

The coin of Theodosius seems to be known only from the Dortmund find. If the *Victoria* is to be dated

later than the *Restitutor* type, it might find a place during the short-lived *entente* between Theodosius and Maximus towards the end of 384.

VI. $\frac{T | R}{COM}$

After the defeat and death of Maximus in August 388 Valentinian II was sent by Theodosius to Gaul. He continues the issue of VICTORIA AVGG, changing only the mint-mark to the form introduced by him at Aquileia and Mediolanum before the war:

Rev. Emperors equal; nimbate. Both legs draped.

M.m. $\frac{T | R}{COM}$.

Obv. (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG. Pearl-diademed.

(2) DN THEODO-SIVS P F AVG. Pearl-diademed.

I have found no coin of Arcadius of this issue, but as a coin of his occurs in the similar issue from the mint of Lugdunum, it seems probable that this type was struck in his name also at Treveri.

In an article on the *siliqua* issues of Valentinian II and Eugenius from Treveri (*Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 8, 9) I noted a difference of treatment of the three pendants below the fibula which serves to fasten the emperor's cloak on his right shoulder. On the earlier coins they are placed close up to the jewel, on the later they hang some little way below. In my specimens of VICTORIA AVGG Valentinian II has four, Theodosius three, of the former; Valentinian II eleven, Theodosius four, of the latter class. Of these latter, one connects the two emperors by reverse identity.

.VII. $\frac{T | R}{COM}$

Valentinian II died, probably by his own act, on 15 May 392, and on 22 August Eugenius was raised to the throne by Arbogastes. He continued the coinage of Valentinian II without change. His obverse bust on the *solidus* always, so far as I have noted (9 specimens), shows the longer pendants. He may well have struck VICTORIA AVGG, as he certainly struck \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{AE} denominations, in the names of Theodosius and Arcadius, but I have not yet seen evidence from his *solidi* that he did so.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

GOLD COINAGE OF THE REIGN OF THEODOSIUS I. ADDENDA.

1. In my article under the above title in *Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 230, I was able to quote examples of the *solidus* VICTORIA AVGG with reverse variety I (a) "Emperors equal" and m.m. \overline{TESOB} only for Gratian and Theodosius. The young Valentinian II was, so far as my fairly considerable evidence went, confined to the variety I (b) "One emperor smaller". Now, by the kindness of Mr. Hugh Goodacre, I learn that he possesses a coin of Valentinian II with the type-variety which I thought to be reserved to the two older emperors. However, the differentiation of type-varieties at Thessalonica, as at Aquileia with the mint-mark \overline{AQOBF} , may, I think, still be regarded as the rule, and Mr. Goodacre's coin, as well as the rare example of Gratian in I (b), as a contemporary hybrid—not as evidence of separate issues.

2. In the same paper I commented on the extreme rarity of coins of Arcadius with m.m. \overline{COM} , and stated (p. 217)

that I knew of but one specimen for him from the North Italian, one from the Thessalonican mint. My authority for the first of these was Laffranchi's *Le Monete Milanesi del tempo Santambrosiano* (repr. from *Milano*, August, 1933). But I have since noticed that the obverse of Arcadius there illustrated is that of my Plate XVI. 7 with m.m. $\frac{M | D}{COM}$, and I suspect that its association with m.m. \overline{COM} is due to an oversight. On the other hand, the British Museum has recently acquired a specimen of Arcadius from the Thessalonican mint with m.m. \overline{COM} . The portraiture connects it closely with his only other specimen from this mint seen by me, viz. that illustrated on Pl. XIV. 10 of my article with m.m. \overline{COM} .

J. W. E. P.

XI.

BARBAROUS OVERSTRIKES FOUND IN FOURTH-CENTURY HOARDS:

SOME ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE FROM THE EAST.

IN the discussion of the very interesting problem presented by these barbarous overstrikes, which appeared in *Num. Chron.*, 1939, pp. 266 ff., both Mr. Mattingly and myself stressed the need for fresh evidence. Dr. L. A. Lawrence has now kindly brought to my notice three *Æ 2* specimens from an eastern hoard in which the "Two captives" type of the *Fel. temp. reparatio* series has been overstruck by the "Spearing fallen horseman" type. The overstrikes have eastern mint-marks and show a fair amount of skill in execution; the understrike, though unmistakable, has been almost completely obliterated.

We have now clear evidence that in the East, for some reason or another, the earliest issues of the *Æ 2 Fel. temp. reparatio*, viz. the "Two captives" and the "Hut" type, struck respectively for Constantius II and Constans, have been put out of currency, or, at least, may be supposed to be less attractive than the later "Spearing fallen horseman" type.

One of the three coins mentioned above has mint-mark $\frac{\Gamma}{\text{ANA}}$ and weighs 3.5 gm. Now, this is a mint-mark of a post-Constans issue of the "Spearing fallen horseman" type, struck in the names of Constantius II and his Caesar, Gallus. This issue is distinctly larger in module, and is on the average about a gramme

heavier in weight, than the coins bearing the "Two captives" and "Hut" types. Evidently some reform of the coinage has taken place, and equally evidently, it seems to me, the overstriking is an attempt to bring a superseded coin into currency again.

There is here, at least, no question of a barbarian's predilection for a bloodthirsty type. Whatever explanation we prefer for the more barbarous overstrikes found in British, or more strictly, English, hoards—for they are not found north of England—we must, I think, connect these eastern examples with a reform of the coinage, which while keeping the heartening legend "*Fel. temp. reparatio*" had introduced a new standard, and relegated all the coins of earlier standards to the position of the *pecuniae vetitae* of the Constantian Rescript.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

XII.

THE DATE OF PISO-CAEPIO.



It has long been the accepted view that the well-known denarii with the names of Piso and Caepio were struck in 100 B.C. Indeed, this view has been held with such implicit confidence that the Piso-Caepio issue has been taken as one of the sure pegs on which to hang the chronology of the Roman Republican coinage at and around this period. But a closer study of the coinage as well as of the chronology shows very plainly that the fixing of the Piso-Caepio issue in 100 B.C. throws the coinage, both before and after it, into a state of confusion. Hence it is clear that there must be some discrepancy. The purpose of the following notes is to show, I think conclusively, that the coins must be assigned to a rather later date.

First let us examine the evidence on which the traditional date rests. This may be given in the words of Mr. Grueber.¹ "The occasion of the issue of these

¹ *B.M.C., Coins of Rom. Rep.*, i, p. 170 n.

coins", he says, "has been revealed to us by the following passage from a treatise on rhetoric attributed to Cicero, and addressed *ad C. Herennium* (i. 12. 21): *Quum L. Saturninus legem frumentariam de semissibus et trientibus laturus esset, Q. Caepio, qui id temporis quaestor urbanus erat, docuit senatum, aerarium pati non posse largitionem tantam.* From this passage we learn that Caepio was quaestor urbanus in the year in which L. Appuleius Saturninus proposed his *lex frumentaria*, by which the state was to let the people buy corn at a semis and a triens (i.e. five-sixths of an as) for a modius. This occurred during the second tribuneship of Saturninus in 100 B.C., and we have, therefore, the precise date of the issue of these coins." He goes on to add, "To enable the quaestors to fulfil the provisions of the Appuleian law, the senate ordered them to strike this special issue of coins."

All this seems quite straightforward, and by way of corroboration we have on the coins the legend **AD FRVmentum EMVndum** and a representation of the two quaestors, presumably Piso and Caepio, seated between two corn-ears. But, as with many ostensibly straightforward arguments, when we probe below the surface we discover one or two serious flaws.

In the first place, the *lex frumentaria* of Saturninus was economically unfeasible. The Gracchan price of corn at $6\frac{1}{2}$ asses per modius had already over-strained the exchequer, and the proposal to lower it to the fantastic sum of five-sixths of an as (i.e. one-seventh of the Gracchan figure)² naturally provoked fierce opposi-

² Heitland (*Roman Republic*, ii, p. 398 n.) expresses some doubt as to this immense reduction in price, but Mommsen and Marquardt seem to accept it without misgiving.

tion, the ring-leader of which was the quaestor, Q. Servilius Caepio. This agrees with Cicero's statement, although he puts the matter quite dispassionately. Consequently the senate vetoed the bill. Saturninus, however, whose unbalanced democratic aims led him to adopt unconstitutional methods, disregarded the veto and proceeded to rush his measure through the Assembly by force. Opposition then became violent and Q. Caepio, whose methods were equally unconstitutional, instigated a riot to upset the voting, for which later on he was brought to trial. Although the bill was eventually passed, more scenes of violence followed, which finally led to the murder of Saturninus on December 10, 100 B.C.

Unfortunately ancient writers leave many details of the legislation of Saturninus hopelessly obscure.³ But the points I have just mentioned are, I believe, a fair commentary on that part of it with which we are at present concerned, and I think, too, that the following deductions, though not in themselves absolutely conclusive, are at any rate justifiable.

If the Caepio⁴ whose name appears on the coins is rightly identified with Q. Servilius Caepio, we are faced with the anomalous and highly improbable conclusion that the man who threw all his weight into opposing the bill was actually deputed either to carry out its provisions or to strike a special issue of coins to commemorate it.

³ See Heitland, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 397 f., where various questions connected with the acts of Saturninus are fully discussed.

⁴ His colleague, Piso, cannot be identified. Presumably he belonged to one of the branches of the Calpurnia gens. His name does not appear in connexion with the legislation of Saturninus.

Further, in consequence of the violent opposition, Saturninus does not appear to have succeeded in passing his *lex frumentaria* until very shortly before the date of his murder, so that it is very doubtful if, during the brief remainder of his tribuneship, there was sufficient time to allow for the issue of the Piso-Caepio coinage, especially as this issue must have been an unusually large one.

That the coins were issued in the following year is even more unlikely, as we are told that all the legislation of Saturninus was promptly rescinded. Indeed, it is more than likely that his *lex frumentaria* never came into operation at all.

Our reasons for rejecting the traditional dating of the Piso-Caepio coins on historical grounds may be summarized thus:

(1) That, while there is no question that the coins refer to the purchase of corn, it is by no means certain that they commemorate the *passing* of the *lex frumentaria* of Saturninus.

(2) That Q. Servilius Caepio, the violent opposer of the *lex*, is scarcely likely to be the moneyer who struck the coins.

(3) That the circumstances of the latter part of Saturninus' second tribuneship render the striking of the Piso-Caepio coins almost impossible in the year 100 B.C.

But a far more serious objection to the traditional date comes from the position of the coins in recorded finds. Here I would preface this part of the argument by pointing out that the evidence of finds is valuable only when it is cumulative. Single finds tell us very little more than single coins. But a number of

finds or large masses of coins are of the highest importance for determining chronology, and naturally the more common coins are more useful in this respect than rare ones.

The earliest find in which Piso-Caepio coins occur is the Crognalitto (No. 15)⁵ (see table at the end of this article) and examples are present in almost all subsequent finds. There are, therefore, fourteen recorded finds which are certainly earlier than the Piso-Caepio issue. I say "certainly" because, on account of the commonness of these coins, their absence from fourteen finds admits of but one explanation, namely that they had not then been issued.

Here, incidentally, it may be pointed out that Mr. Grueber creates a difficulty which leads him seriously to distort his evidence. Arguing from what are undoubtedly faulty premisses,⁶ he places the closing date of finds 1, 2, and 3 (Masera, Riccia, and S. Giovanni) in 93 B.C. That this date is manifestly too late is proved by several facts arising from the coinage. But for our present purpose a single example will suffice. The first seven finds contain no coins of C. Pulcher, their earliest appearance being in El Centinello (no. 8). Now, C. Pulcher is one of the very few moneyers whose date of office can be determined, within a year or so,

⁵ According to Grueber's tabulation of finds in *B.M.C., Rom. Rep.*, vol. iii, the Piso-Caepio issue first occurs in the Fiesole find. But since his work was published several other important finds have been reported, e.g. the Madalloni, El Centinello, Cordova, S. Elena, and Sierra Morena, which have to be taken into consideration, and materially strengthen our evidence.

⁶ The error arose from assigning the serrate issue of Licinius Domitius to 92 B.C.

from external evidence. He was curule aedile in 99 B.C., prior to which, we are told, he was quaestor and triumvir of the mint.⁷ Thus it is reasonable to calculate that he was moneyer in, or about, 106 B.C. Here again we are dealing with a very common issue, so that it will be seen that there are seven finds which can confidently be dated earlier than 106 B.C. There remain, therefore, six recorded finds of which the closing dates fall between *c.* 105 B.C. and the issue of Piso-Caepio. Now, in these six finds there occur issues of at least twenty-five moneyers that do not appear in finds 1-8.⁸ That is to say, most, if not all, of these twenty-five moneyers may reasonably be placed later than C. Pulcher and earlier than Piso-Caepio. If, therefore, we retain the traditional date, 100 B.C., for Piso-Caepio we are confronted with an abnormally large number of moneyers within the space of five years, giving an average of five a year.

Continuing the sequence of moneyers after Piso-Caepio, our next fixed point is determined by the issues of D. Junius Silanus and L. Calpurnius Piso, which can be definitely placed in 90 B.C. Here again, assuming the traditional date for Piso-Caepio, we find an equally improbable state of things, for according to the evidence of finds there are only fourteen moneyers left to fill a whole decade.

The discrepancy is obvious. But if, instead of distorting the evidence of finds so as to make them fit in with preconceived notions, which may after

⁷ *C.I.L.*, i, p. 200. Although Grueber quotes this, he rather curiously places the moneyership of C. Pulcher in 91 B.C.

⁸ The number may be even greater, as several rare issues are omitted.

all be based on misconceptions, we let the finds tell their own story, we shall obtain a very different result.⁹

In the period 105-90 B.C. (i.e. between C. Pulcher and L. Piso) we have nine recorded finds which show that, during these fifteen years, at least forty moneyers are known to have issued coins. Normally moneyers (*triumviri monetales*) were appointed at the rate of three a year, and although this cannot be pressed with mathematical precision, there is every reason to believe that the rule was adhered to unless some unusual circumstances occurred to upset it. During the first five or six years of this period conditions were not quite normal as the Republic was involved in foreign wars, viz., the last phases of the Cimbrian war, ending in 101 B.C., and the Sicilian slave war, 103-99 B.C. But the last ten years (99-90 B.C.) were years of singular tranquillity. Some allowance must, therefore, be made for somewhat more strained conditions in the six years before 99 B.C., which probably necessitated a heavier and more widely distributed coinage than might be expected between 99 and 90 B.C. But though the output of coins may have been greater, it does not necessarily mean that the number of moneyers was increased, at any rate, not to the disproportionately large extent which would be involved if we retain the traditional date for the Piso-Caepio issue.

Obviously the solution is to transfer the Piso-Caepio coinage to a later date, which, if we follow the evidence of finds, would bring it to about 96-95 B.C. This not only gives a more equal distribution of moneyers, but

⁹ See Table, *infra*.

elucidates several features of the coinage at this date. For instance, it shows that the closing of the south Italian mint (Rhegium) took place just about the end of the Sicilian slave war. Definitely military issues, such as that of Q. Marcius and others,¹⁰ will fall into place during the latter part of the Cimbrian war, and the four serrate issues of C. Sulpicius etc.¹¹ will form a group at the very end of it. According to the evidence of finds all these issues occur before that of Piso-Caepio, and there can be very little question that historically this is their proper place. But the arrangement becomes intelligible only if we shift the Piso-Caepio coinage to the date I have suggested.

It will be admitted, I think, that the foregoing reasons for redating the Piso-Caepio coins are sufficiently convincing in spite of the fact that I cannot round off the argument by pointing to some specific enactment relating to the price or purchase of corn, about the year 96-95 B.C., with which the coins might be linked up. Perhaps, however, this is just as well, for one escapes the temptation of associating coin-types with particular events merely because they look as if they ought to be associated. As we all know, the coin-types of the Roman Republic are seldom contemporary with the events to which they refer, and the coinage itself does not always fit historical conditions as neatly as we are sometimes inclined to think it ought. Scattered up and down the Republican series are a

¹⁰ Denarii inscribed Q. MAR. C. F. L. R. (the last two names being uncertain) are a military issue probably struck in Cisalpine Gaul c. 102 B.C.

¹¹ The serrate issues of C. Sulpicius, L. Memmius Gal., L. Scipio Asiagenus, and L. Cota seem to belong to the years 101-99 B.C.

number of references to corn laws, comparatively few of which can be tied down to definite enactments, while still fewer appear in any sense to be contemporary.

But apart from the question of their date, the *Piso-Caepio* coins present one or two unusual features which call for notice.

In the first place, the names *Piso* and *Caepio* on the obverse are simply *cognomina*, without any mention of *gens* or *praenomen*. Although there are one or two instances on earlier *denarii* of *cognomina* used alone on the reverse, after about 140 B.C. it became the unvarying rule for moneyers to sign their *denarii* with their *praenomen* and *nomen*, these being the essential part of the signature, although in some cases the *cognomen* is added.¹² Therefore, the omission of the essential part of the signatures appears to admit of but one explanation, namely that the *cognomina*, *Piso* and *Caepio*, are not those of the moneyer, or moneyers, who struck the coins. The other well-known example of this particular usage is the issue with the names of *Brutus* and *Ahala*, which may be cited as a parallel case. Here, quite certainly, the two *cognomina* are not those of the moneyer who struck the coins c. 59 B.C., and whose name does not appear, but, like the portraits are purely commemorative. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that if the names, *Piso* and *Caepio*, are not those of the moneyer they are used commemoratively.

¹² The *cognomen* **CALD** (above) occurs on an issue of C. *Coilius Caldus*, but this exception is more apparent than real as other issues of the same moneyer give his name in full.

I have already pointed out that Saturninus' *lex frumentaria* in all probability never came into operation and that, in any case, Q. Servilius Caepio is the most unlikely person to have done anything towards facilitating it either by issuing coins or by purchasing corn. It seems fairly certain, too, that sometime between the rescinding of Saturninus' abortive corn law in 99 B.C. and the agrarian legislation of M. Livius Drusus in 91 B.C., an attempt was made to readjust the price of corn. This may perhaps throw a new light on the Piso-Caepio issue. That is to say, while the coins were specially authorized by the senate (EX• S• C•) for the purchase of corn (AD FRV• EMV•), the names of the quaestors (PISO-CAEPIO) are commemorated as advocates, not of extra-cheap corn at the rate proposed by Saturninus but of a 'fair price', and as champions of the *aerarium*, symbolized by the head of Saturn.

Moreover, the reverse type seems to be in agreement with some such explanation as this. The attitude of the two seated figures is unusual. They are not drawn facing in the same direction, engaged in distributing corn, as we find them in a somewhat similar type on denarii of M. Fannius and L. Critonius (c. 85 B.C.). But the man on the left turns his head over his shoulder towards the man seated behind him who holds up his right hand. If they are not distributing corn, what are they doing? Are they protesting or arguing about it? It is difficult to say. But there can be no question that this unusual portrayal of the quaestors is deliberate, and that it has a meaning, plain enough to the Roman in the early years of the first century B.C., but which we are left to guess at.

A further peculiarity of the Piso-Caepio coins to be noticed is their unusual style and technique. Although the coarse treatment of the head of Saturn, particularly as regards the clumsy rendering of the hair, is foreign to the style of the Roman mint at this period, it shows a very distinct resemblance to that of the head of Hercules on denarii of P. Cornelius Lentulus.¹⁴ It is interesting to note, moreover, that the denarii of both Piso-Caepio and P. Cor. Lentulus make their earliest appearance in the Crognaleto find¹⁵ which was buried about the year 94 B.C. There is no doubt, therefore, that these two issues are of about the same date and probably from the same mint. It seems safe to suggest, too, that their place of mintage was probably not Rome.¹⁶

In conclusion I will anticipate a question that may quite naturally be raised. Is it really worth while to enter into such lengthy arguments merely for the sake of shifting an issue of coins, such as the one we have been considering, a few years from its traditional date? Considering the element of doubt that surrounds the dating of most Republican coins, it may be urged that a year or two, one way or the other, cannot make

¹⁴ Bab. 25 (Cornelia); G. i. 1704. Grueber gives the date of P. Cor. Lentulus as 89 B.C., which is certainly too late. The *lex Papiria semunciararia* was passed in 90 B.C., and as the asses of P. Lentulus are of full uncial weight it is evident that they were struck a few years before the semuncial reduction.

¹⁵ For particulars of the Crognaleto find see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1900, p. 43. Although not very large (158 denarii and 14 quinarii) this find is important. I do not know why Mr. Grueber omits it from his list.

¹⁶ The *triskelis* on asses of P. Cor. Lentulus may perhaps connect his coinage with Sicily. If so, the Piso-Caepio should be assigned to Sicily as well. But this is by no means certain.

very much difference; and, after all, the traditional date had the semblance of circumstantial evidence to back it.

My answer to this is, first, that in the study of the Roman Republican series one of the primary essentials is to establish an intelligible chronology of the coinage, and just because this chronology is at present far from complete and is in many ways confused, any serious attempt to straighten out a part of it must be considered important.

Secondly, I regard the Piso-Caepio coinage as a test case. That is to say, it is a test of the evidential value of finds. It is quite true that the exact dating of Republican coins is frequently impossible and, speaking generally, is a matter of minor importance, although, in the case of Piso-Caepio, rather more depends on it than usual. But the point I want to emphasize is this. If finds are to constitute one of our chief sources of evidence for determining the chronology of the Roman Republican coinage, it is most essential that their evidence should not only be carefully sifted but should also be fairly assessed.

Mommsen, although he had fewer finds to work from than we have to-day, was fully convinced of their importance and drew his conclusions as to the dating of coins very largely from their evidence. Mr. Grueber, while professing to attach importance to them, largely invalidates their evidence by his conclusions, more particularly as set forth in his tabulation of finds. Mr. Grueber was, as we all know, to some extent a pioneer in the work of presenting a chronology of the Republican coinage, and as a pioneer he cannot always be expected to give final results. But it is

TABLE OF FINDS.

The following table sets forth the *literal* evidence of finds (nos. 8-15) c. 105-94 B.C., by showing what fresh moneyers' names are added by each find. This does not necessarily mean that the names are placed in exact chronological order, although approximately correct.

All the issues may safely be described as "common", and therefore have greater evidential value. Several rare issues, such as those of C. Cætagus, Cn. Cornelius Sisena, and A. Manlius, are omitted, although they probably belong to the period covered by these finds.

<i>Find</i>	<i>Mint of Rome</i>	<i>S. Italy (Rhegium)</i>	<i>Uncertain mints</i>
8. El Centinello c. 105 B.C.	C. PVLCHER { AP. CL(audius) T. M(allius) ¹³		
9. Cordova c. 103-102 B.C.	—	Mn. AQVILIVS L. MEMMIVS Q. LVTATI. CERCO Cn. BLASIO	L. FLAMIN. CILO
10. S. Elena c. 100-99 B.C.	P. PORC. LAECA P. NERVA	Ti. QVINCTIVS L. CAESIVS L. VAL. FLACCVS. Mn. FONTEIVS	Q. MAR. C. F. L. R. C. SVLPICIVS (serrate) L. MEMMIVS (serrate)

11. Sierra Morena c. 99 B.C.	—	M. HERENNIVS	L. SCIP. ASIAGENVS (serrate)
12. Cazlona (G. 7) c. 99 B.C.	—	—	L. THORIVS BALBVS
13. Oliva (G. 8) c. 98 B.C.	L. SATVRNINVS C. COIL. CALD ^{us}	—	L. COTA (serrate) L. LVCILI. RVFVS
14. Ricina (G. 9) c. 96 B.C.	L. JVLIVS Q. THERMVVS CFABIVS	—	L. SENTIVS
15. Crognalletto c. 94 B.C.	—	—	P. COR. LENTVLVS PISO-CAEPIO

¹³ A coin of C. Coilius Calvus (CALD) included in the El Centinello is probably a "straggler".

certainly a pity that in his great work, with all its wealth of material, he has based so many of his conclusions on preconceptions rather than on the evidence of the material that he himself had amassed. Without stressing this criticism further than its bearing on the period under our immediate consideration, it will be gathered from what I have already said that, by fixing the closing date of finds 1, 2, and 3 (i.e. the Masera, Riccia, and S. Giovanni) in 93 B.C., Mr. Grueber has reduced the evidential value, not only of these three finds but of some dozen or more other finds of this period, to a point somewhere below zero.

In assessing the evidence of finds a certain amount of latitude is, of course, allowable, and on this account we cannot always expect to attain complete certainty. But if, as I firmly believe, finds constitute one of our most valuable sources for building up the chronology of the Roman Republican coinage, prejudiced judgement and an arbitrary treatment, such as I have mentioned, must be rigorously excluded.

E. A. SYDENHAM.

XIII.

SOME OVERSTRIKES AND OTHER ROMAN COINS FROM MAIDEN CASTLE, DORSET.

DURING the course of the excavations at Maiden Castle, Dorset, in the years 1934 to 1937, 542 Roman imperial coins were discovered. A list of these, with references to Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, or to Cohen, will be included in the full report of the excavations, which is now in the press and will be published as a Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries.

Of the total given 77 coins belonged to the first 250 years of Roman rule in Britain, i.e. down to the time of Allectus, 299 were minted in the fourth century down to the time of Constantius II, and 150 belonged to the later fourth century A.D. This preponderance of the issues of the period A.D. 330-357, since it is those which account for most of the 299 mentioned above, is of particular interest, because the Roman buildings with which most of these coins were associated were shown to have been erected after A.D. 367.¹ Moreover, it was clear that the occupation continued for at least twelve years,² and there can be little doubt that it did in fact extend to the end of the fourth century. Yet the coins are predominantly those of a generation earlier. A glance at any modern pocketful of small change will show that such a state of affairs is quite usual, but it has seemed well to use such an excellent illus-

¹ *Ant. J.*, xv, 271.

² *Ibid.*

tration of this truth in ancient times to counteract a tendency to date ancient finds or deposits by using the mint-date of the latest coin. Even the state of wear of a coin is a doubtful criterion, and great care should always be taken to avoid dating a deposit too closely to the time of the latest coin.

A few of the coins are of particular interest numismatically. These include an unrecorded *siliqua* of Julian:³

Obv. D N IVLIA | NVS AVG. Bust diad., dr., cuir. r.

Rev. VOT X MVLT XX in wreath. *Mint.* $\overline{\text{LVG}}$,

a new hybrid *antoninianus* of Claudius II:³

Obv. DIVO CLAVDIO. Head rad. r.

Rev. VBERTAS AVG. Ubertas stg. l., holding purse and cornucopiae,

a new Lyons mint-mark $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{OF} | \text{I} \\ \hline \text{LVGPD} \end{array} \right)$ of a normal

bronze Valens of *Securitas Reipublicae* type, and a coin of Constantius II with normal obverse and almost normal reverse with *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* legend and fallen horseman kneeling by the side of the horse.⁴ In the exergue, however, there is a final letter which is certainly N and a letter before it which is almost certainly L; the first letter is illegible. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the full mint-mark read $\overline{\text{PLN}}$ and to see in this coin evidence for unofficial or semi-official issues to supplement supplies of currency from the usual mints.

³ These coins have been presented to the British Museum.

⁴ Mr. J. W. E. Pearce states that he has noted this type with an Arles mint-mark.

As minor variants, there are two coins of Gallienus (M. & S. Sole reign, 208 and 210), both with mint-mark
| N. Gallienus (M. & S. Sole reign, 330) occurs with obverse legend **GALLIENVS AVG**, head rad. r. A specimen of Victorinus *Pax* type (M. & S. 118) occurs with type of *Laetitia Aug.* with wreath and anchor.

There are three *minimi*. The two smallest measure 0.25 in. and 0.15 in. in diameter respectively. Unfortunately no legends or types are visible on them.

In 1934 a hoard of four *solidi* was found close to the wall of the Roman temple uncovered that year. The coins were all of normal **VICTORIA AVGGG** type, showing the emperor standing with standard and victory on globe and with his foot on a captive. There were two coins of Arcadius and two of Honorius, one of each having mint-mark $\frac{M | D}{COMOB}$ and one of each $\frac{R | V}{COMOB}$.

Finally there are six overstruck coins. All have as reverse a barbarous *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type, with legionary spearing fallen horseman, except that in one case the horse and rider, admittedly very barbarously rendered, appear to occupy all the available space, charging left, and there is no sign of the legionary. To judge from the obverse the workmanship is very crude, and it is perhaps wiser at the present time not to suggest that the moneyer intended to follow any other model than the usual. No mint-marks are legible.

In one case the name of Constantius II can be read and in two others it is suspected. The other three have similar heads.

The underlying types are all earlier Constantinian issues, where discernible. Three are of *Gloria Exercitust* type, two being with one standard ($\overline{\text{TRP}}$ and $\bullet\overline{\text{TRS}}\bullet$) and one is of *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type with Phoenix. The types of the others are illegible.

Thus these six overstruck coins provide useful confirmation of the features common to their type, which have been recently summarized by Mr. J. W. E. Pearce.⁵ The types, both original and overstruck, are normal, as are any legends of the overstriking, which can be read.

Mr. Pearce and Mr. Mattingly have discovered a difference of opinion in the interpretation of these overstrikes. Certainly no solution of the difficulty is to be found in these six coins, but a few observations may be pertinent.

It is quite clear that the overstrikes cannot be dissociated from the myriads of more usual barbarous coins of *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type, which crowd our sites and museums. Even the single die-identity between an overstrike and a not overstruck barbarous *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* ⁶ would prove this, and no one who has had experience of the coinage is likely to deny the fact. It is also certain that this whole class of coins, whether overstruck or not, originated in Britain. Such crudities can only have been a "coinage of necessity" on the spot, and, if the apparent evidence of the mint-mark $\overline{\text{LN}}$, mentioned above, can be used, there is a suggestion that some sort of mint claiming to be that of London was indeed responsible for some of the better barbarous issues in question. On the other hand

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1939, 266 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 269.

it seems to the present writer quite inconceivable that any coins should have been issued by the invaders of A.D. 367. Trade was certainly not their purpose, and their later record as moneyers hardly suggests that they could have produced even barbarous *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* coins. It is, however, a well-known fact that the Britons, even under Roman rule, were far from being adept in the portrayal of animate objects, human or otherwise. In short, therefore, bearing in mind the nature of the pre-Roman coinage of Britain, one may say that these barbarous issues are precisely what might have been expected from native Britons, who were left to their own resources to supplement the scanty coinage.

This statement might indeed be taken as indicating a fifth-century dating for these coins, but there is sufficient evidence to refute such an argument. The writer feels sure that Mr. Pearce is correct in claiming that the majority of them, i.e. the larger coins, are practically contemporary with the legitimate issues.⁷ Thus it is necessary to search the historians for evidence of a time, when such a "coinage of necessity" struck by the Britons themselves, whether semi-officially or quite illicitly, is likely to have occurred. The only suitable time seems to be that of the great invasion of A.D. 367, as Mr. Mattingly points out.

Thus the present writer favours Mr. Mattingly's interpretation, although substituting Britons for Picts, &c., as those responsible for the coins, whether overstruck or not. It is understandable that an unofficial moneyer would not object, if a certain number of his

⁷ *Ibid.*, 270.

flans were older issues instead of blanks. He certainly did his best to obliterate the earlier types and legends, and his own type was well suited for that purpose. With difficulties in the background, like the overstriking of barbarous on normal *Fel. Temp. Reparatio*, it seems advisable to adopt this explanation, which allows for the rather haphazard character of the striking, rather than to connect the problem, as does Mr. Pearce, with a definite statement in literature, which is at best imperfectly understood, because not explicit.

In conclusion, I have to thank the Maiden Castle Excavation Committee for permission to publish this article.

B. H. ST. J. O'NEIL.

XIV.

ON A HOARD OF PLATED ROMAN DENARII.

THE hoard about to be described was unearthed in St. Swithin's Lane, King William St., in the City of London. The hoard was sent to the British Museum in 1856 along with all the other articles which formed the private museum of C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. A privately printed catalogue of this museum contains the following notice of the hoard, which is all the information I can give:

"Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities
collected by C. Roach Smith.

Page 86. No. 387.

Plated Consular and Imperial denarii found together in making excavation for a house in King William Street, City. They are of iron, coated with a thick plate of silver. They are much oxydized and, in consequence, when found were in masses; but it is evident that they had been placed in tiers in a box or some other enclosure. Some are in good preservation, and they are, altogether, interesting as showing an ingenious mode of forging coins by the Romans to pass current in Britain. The latest are of Claudius and it may, therefore, be inferred that they were introduced in his reign."

This notice tells nothing of the numbers found or of the date of finding. The hoard was transferred to the Medieval Department where it had remained until a year or so ago when it was handed over with other of Roach Smith's coins to the Department of Coins.

DETAILS OF THE COINS.

B.M.C. Republic, Vol. I.

<i>Approx. Date.</i>			
—	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Roma r.	—	M 1
	<i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga r., no inscription visible.		
88 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Roma r.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 1772	M 2
	<i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga r., in exergue D SILANVS	(2 from same dies)	
—	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Apollo r.	<i>B.M.C.</i> , type III	1
	<i>Rev.</i> Horseman r. L PISO FRVGI		
85 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Genius r., symbol, anchor.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 2485	4
	<i>Rev.</i> Victory in quadriga, si under horses. LIVLI BVRSIO in ex.	(4 from same dies)	
83 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Apollo r., symbol poppyhead.	Type of <i>B.M.C.</i> 2693	M 1
	<i>Rev.</i> Horseman r. P CREPVSI below.		
71 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Bonus Eventus r. LIBO below.	<i>B.M.C.</i> , type of 3377	M 1
	<i>Rev.</i> Well-head. SCRIBON. in ex. Hammer.		
64 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Apollo r.		
	<i>Rev.</i> Horseman r. C PISO FRVGI		
51 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Salus r. SALVTIS reading upwards.	<i>B.M.C.</i> , type uncertain	M 1
	<i>Rev.</i> Valetudo l. AVACILIVS IIIVIR VALEV	<i>B.M.C.</i> 3944	4
41 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Acca Larentia. Part of legend P. ACCOLEIVS	(4 from same dies)	
	LARISCOLVS visible.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 4211	1
	<i>Rev.</i> Three statues.		
39 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Concordia. CONCORDIA. Star.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 4244	M 1
	<i>Rev.</i> Platform. L MVSSIDIVS LONGVS; CLOACIN		
38 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Apollo.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 4290	M 3
	<i>Rev.</i> Diana Lucifera. P CLODIVS M F	(4, all different dies)	
—	<i>Obv.</i> Bust of Minerva r.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 4303	1
	<i>Rev.</i> Hercules l. C VIBIVS VARVS		

<i>Approx. Date.</i>	<i>B.M.C. Republic, Vol. II.</i>		
<i>Italy:</i>			
90 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Mars I. <i>Rev.</i> Two warriors. Q THERM M P	<i>B.M.C.</i> 653 (2 from same dies)	M 2
<i>Spain:</i>			
72 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Genius r. gpe above. <i>Rev.</i> Globe, rudder, sceptre. EX S C ON LEN Q	<i>B.M.C.</i> , page 358	1
<i>East:</i>			
41 B.C.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of M ANTONIVS BARBAT <i>Rev.</i> Head of Octavian.	As <i>B.M.C.</i> 100 (Die A) (5 from same dies)	4
—	<i>Obv.</i> Head of M ANTONIVS BARBAT <i>Rev.</i> Head of Octavian. (Another pair of dies.)	As <i>B.M.C.</i> 100 (Die B) (8 coins)	M 3
32-31 B.C.: <i>Legionary Coins of M ANTONIVS:</i>			
—	<i>Rev.</i> LEG V	(2 from same dies)	M 1
—	<i>Rev.</i> LEG VII	(3 from same dies)	3
—	<i>Rev.</i> Uncertain.	(5; three badly broken)	M 4
<i>Augustus:</i>			
—	<i>Rev.</i> C L CAESARES, etc.	(16 from same dies)	16
<i>Tiberius:</i>			
—	<i>Rev.</i> PONTIF MAXIM	(26 from same dies)	26
<i>Catigula:</i>			
—	<i>Rev.</i> Germanicus.	(2 from same dies)	2
<i>Claudius I:</i>			
—	<i>Obv.</i> ends COS V TR P XI		
—	<i>Rev.</i> PACI AVGVSTAE	<i>B.M.C.</i> 69	1

IMPERIAL.

The present number of coins in the hoard is 89. They are all plated on copper, not on iron as Roach Smith thought. Many of them are coated with a thick deposit of a rust-like nature embedded in which are sometimes portions of another coin.

The peculiar characteristics of this unique hoard are (1) that all the coins are plated, (2) that there are a very large number of identical dies.

What are we to conclude from this evidence and to whom did the coins belong before burial? Obviously they were not a haphazard collection from circulation by the late owner. There are only two people to whom they could have belonged at some time. Either a forger had made them or they had been owned by an official connected with the mint. Be it remembered that they are all struck coins, not casts. Where did the forger get his dies? He must have made them, and in the early days of coinage there could only have been three ways of making an ancient die: either they are engraved, or engraved and punched, or they were cast from coins already existing. Now these coins being struck must have been made from cast dies if they were a forger's product. It is unthinkable that he could have got hold of such a large number of official dies. That is one view. The other is that they were made officially from official dies in the various provinces—Rome, Gaul, Spain, &c.—where the coins were circulating. Supposing this to be the true explanation, how are we to account for the fact that they are all plated? My own view is that they were an accumulated residue of plated coins remaining over when the proper proportion had been mixed with the true silver coins of the various mints before

being put into circulation. This very small remainder had accumulated (they may not have satisfied the moneyer in the matter of good striking): they were not worth melting down and they descended from father to son, as do coins nowadays, till the last owner buried them.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

XV.

ON ROMAN PLATED COINS.

BEFORE we refer specifically to Roman plated coins some general considerations must be gone into. Plated coins go back to the quite early days of coining in the western world. Mr. Robinson tells me that the earliest plated Greek coin that he knows dates to about 500 B.C.; Mr. Allan also informs me that Indian plated coins are known as early as the third century B.C. Roman plated coins date from the times of the Romano-Campanian coinage, c. 268 B.C., right through the ages, until at last it became unnecessary to pretend they were anything other than they really were.

There are two kinds of plated coins, both of which present a copper or base-metal core, plated with gold or silver. It is chiefly to the silver-plated coins that attention is given here.

Manufacture. Nothing is known as to how the ancients plated their copper blanks with silver. One suggestion was that the blanks were dropped into molten silver. This, of course, could not have been the method employed, as the piece could not have been removed from the molten mass without showing traces of the removing implement.

The Royal Mint authorities very kindly undertook to carry out some experiments on a simple method of plating such as might have been practised in ancient days. The process was as follows. A copper blank was strongly heated on charcoal with the aid of a blowpipe.

When the temperature got near the melting-point of the copper, silver, in sheet or granules, was placed on the coin, and the blowpipe again used until the silver melted. (The melting-point of silver is slightly lower than that of copper.) When cool, the blank was found completely covered with silver. If serrate coins are to be made, the serrations are made *before* silvering. The silver flows into the spaces but only covers the surface of the copper. It does not fill up the serrations. So much for the simple method of manufacture of the blanks. After striking, the coin shows no break in the continuity of the silver cover on either of the faces or on the edge.

Various views are taken about the plated coins. Some say that they are forgeries, others that some only are false. Lists of these plated coins have been made during the last fifty years, and recently I have endeavoured to collect as many specimens as possible with the view to deciding which of these two opinions is correct. The great difficulty is to find a definition of a forgery. A coin which should be made of silver and is found to be merely a base core plated with silver might be considered a forgery, but a government ordering the provision of such an article thereby allows the circulation of it with coins of fine metal. Its purchasing power is the same as the true coin by the government's decision. For example in our own country since 1920 our silver coinage contains only half the quantity of silver that it did before 1920. Its purchasing power, however, is just the same as the good silver coin. Good and bad are together in circulation entirely owing to the government's order. All is well with the government's base money in the country

of issue or in most money exchanges abroad, but take it to a bullion merchant and you at once get a lower price as bullion because it is base. It might be suggested that forgery in relation to coins is an attempt to defraud the public by an unauthorized copy of a government coin.

Plated coins of the Roman series, as before remarked, begin with the earliest Romano-Campanian issues. There was nothing new in the idea of plating, as Greek coins are known plated from much earlier times. These plated Romano-Campanian coins are rare and sporadic. It is not until the period of the denarius is reached (c. 187 B.C.) that we are able to trace any continuity. The unmarked denarius begins the series. Those with symbols occur at intervals: following these the denarii with the moneyers' names are of common though not regular occurrence. It is not until about the middle of the second century B.C. that the names of the moneyers form a complete series. Between 124 B.C. and 37 B.C. every moneyer's name is known on a plated coin except C. Numitorius, Sex. Julius Caesar, M. Arrius Secundus, and Q. Voconius Vitulus; of 168 moneyers striking at Rome only four are missing. From 37 B.C. to the end of the Republic plated coins are not quite so frequent, but they still go on being made in Imperial times. Many of the types of Augustus are in evidence, whether attributed to Rome, Spain, Gaul, or the East. All the Roman Emperors are represented up to Lucius Verus and with intervals beyond. With the coins given by Grueber to Italy the same state of affairs is in evidence, viz. nearly all the moneyers striking plated coins. The problem one has to solve then is whether these plated

coins were issued by authority or whether they are forgeries made outside the mint. The first feature one has to take into account is style in comparison with the true silver coins of the same types; then errors; then wrong combination of dies. As to style, the very large majority of the plated coins are of the same style as the true silver pieces. They vary among themselves in exactly the same way as the corresponding silver coins. It is rare to find silver denarii struck from the same dies. I can show one or two plated coins from the same dies as the good silver ones. Errors among plated coins, unless they can be explained, usually point to forgery. As an example, a coin with a closely looped P in the legend is likely to be false if this letter had not become the custom at the time of issue proposed for the coin. Such coins are not only false but are probably made for collectors at a much later period than that shown on the coin. Note the presence of the P on the Ides of March coin of Brutus. It should be P. We look in vain for plated examples of such horrors. An impossible combination of obverse and reverse dies would also point to forgery, whether plated or silver.

Some reference must be made to the account given in *B.M.C.*, i, p. xlii. Grueber here states under date 217 B.C. that the government ordered a certain number of "nummi mixti" to be included in every issue—*Lex Flaminia*. In 91 B.C. the tribune Livius Drusus promoted a law authorizing an eighth part of the issue to consist of debased metal. Then comes the statement by Cicero that at the time of Cinna (87 B.C.) the value of the currency was so uncertain that no one knew what he possessed. Then in 84 B.C. Gratidianus

the praetor ordered the base money to be withdrawn. His death followed, and then Sulla re-established the forced currency of "plated" money mixed with a certain proportion of good money.

What are we to understand by all this? "Nummi mixti" is explained by Pliny as an eighth part of copper added to the silver. Coins with this small addition of copper cannot now and could not then be distinguished except by assay. Therefore Cicero's remark could not have referred to these and must have implied plated coins as the only money distinguishable at sight. If that be the case, then one can understand the efforts of Gratidianus and the return by Sulla to the bad money. In other words the plated money was again issued.

My own view of all this is that we must regard plated coins as part of the government issues and therefore made at the mint and not by private forgers, so that one can absolve the 164 out of 168 moneyers from having disgraced themselves. Plated Roman coins are almost entirely confined to denarii. A few, very few, victoriati and quinarii are known. From the forger's point of view they were not worth the trouble of making. But why, then, did he confine his efforts to denarii when he could have profitably made cistophori? Why again have I been unable to find a plated quadrigatus? The only plated medallion I have is one of Hadrian, and it is false as its bad style proves. A few plated medallions besides this are known.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

At a meeting of the Society in May 1938 I read a short paper entitled "Ars denarios probare" following one read by Dr. Lawrence on a hoard of plated denarii found in St. Swithin's Lane, London. This paper I am now rewriting for two reasons. First, because owing to my proverbial untidiness I have lost or mislaid the original manuscript, and second, because I think some of its more important points will bear restating with advantage.

The trouble caused by the prevalence of false money is one that constantly crops up under the Republic, and although various steps were taken by the government from time to time to put a stop to the abuse, *monetae falsae* continued to circulate without any visible diminution down to the end of the Republican period.

Two main questions present themselves :

(1) What was the precise nature of the *monetae falsae*?

(2) Were the false coins produced entirely by contemporary forgers, or were they issued, wholly or in part, at the state mints with the approval, or at any rate the connivance, of the government?

With regard to the nature of the false money, a fairly complete assay of Republican denarii shows scarcely any indication of debasement of the metal. The few known examples of base coins are either the result of incomplete fusion of the metal, which may be purely accidental, or else they are forgeries. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that anything like systematic debasement of the coinage is unknown.

On the other hand, plated coins, i.e. coins composed

of a copper core faced with a thin layer of silver, are extremely common. Dr. Lawrence has shown that from a date somewhere about the middle of the second century B.C. plated coins exist of practically every moneyer. There is no doubt, therefore, that the *monetae falsae* referred to are *plated* coins, which when newly made were indistinguishable from coins of solid silver and so long as their surface remained intact passed along with the regular coinage. It was only when, after years of circulation, the surface became worn or broken that their intrinsic worthlessness was revealed. Hence the popular grievance.

We must, of course, rid ourselves of all modern notions about "token values". We are not in the least perturbed because our shillings sometimes have a brassy look, nor do we attach any more value to a shilling of Edward VII than to one of George VI. But the Roman did not view his coins in quite the same light. To him money was bullion, and if his money turned out to be bad he realized that he was the loser.

The amount of bad money in circulation during the years immediately following the death of Marius caused something like a financial panic, so that "nobody knew what he was worth" (*nemo posset scire quid haberet*).¹ This is vouched for by Cicero and Pliny,² who tell us further that the situation was saved by the action of M. Marius Gratidianus, who was praetor in 86 B.C. and again in 82 B.C. Gratidianus is said to have devised a method of detecting false coins. He also instituted bureaux of verification, called in the

¹ Cic., *De off.*, iii. 20. 80.

² Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii. 9. 46.

false money, and paid out good silver coins in exchange from the state treasury. By way of expressing their gratitude the people of Rome loaded Gratidianus with honours and erected statues to him in various parts of the city. His popularity, however, was short-lived, as he fell a victim to the Sullan proscriptions and was murdered about the end of 82 B.C.

So much for the story of Gratidianus, which somehow does not seem to ring quite true! At least we might expect that some particulars of his ingenious device for detecting the false coins would have been thought worth recording. As it is, we are left to fill in these for ourselves. In the first place, it is safe to assume that the "bad money", which was the cause of the panic, was plated coinage.

There are three possible ways of detecting a plated coin: (1) By ascertaining its specific gravity, the specific gravity of pure silver being 10.5 and that of copper 8.93, while bronze is somewhat lower. (2) By the simple process of weighing, since a plated coin is naturally lighter than a silver one. But as the weights of denarii are subject to a certain amount of variation, this method is inconclusive. (3) By making a cut in the coin, which is, of course the simplest and surest method.

It is pretty certain that Gratidianus did not employ either of the first two methods, as no. 1 was too difficult and no. 2 was not sufficiently certain. But did he made use of no. 3? It is quite certain that the coins were not notched or defaced with ugly gashes, like those commonly found on silver coins of Tarsus. But it may have been observed that a large number of denarii show a longitudinal incision on the edge, made

apparently with a small file, which is sufficiently deep to cut through the silver coating in the case of plated coins. These cuts, usually about half an inch in length, are quite inconspicuous—in fact one has to look for them—and do not deface the coin in the least. In my previous paper I suggested that these longitudinal cuts may have been invented by Gratidianus. Being merely a suggestion, I have no wish to press it unduly, but perhaps it may be worth further investigation.

Our second question as to who was responsible for producing the plated coins is more important.

Pliny states that "M. Livius Drusus in tribunatu plebei octavam partem aeris argento miscuit".³ From which the obvious, and I think the only feasible, inference is that Livius Drusus debased the silver coinage by adding approximately 12 per cent. of copper alloy.⁴ The explanation sometimes given that this constitutes a legal sanction for the issue of plated denarii in the proportion of one to every eight coins issued, puts too great a strain on the text to be considered seriously. Pliny's meaning seems clear enough, but whether he is right is another matter, and if we may judge from the rest of his statements regarding the coinage, it is more than likely that he was misinformed. It is worth pointing out, however, that all the legislation of Drusus was immediately rescinded by the Senate. As Cicero remarks, "uno versiculo

³ Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiii. 8. 13. The Livius Drusus referred to is most probably the tribune of 91 B.C., but a tribune of the same name held office in 122 B.C.

⁴ Mr. Grueber, *B.M.C.*, i, p. xlii, evidently accepts Pliny's statement at its face value, but analyses of the coins of the period utterly fail to corroborate it.

senatus puncto temporis sublatae sunt [leges]".⁵ That being the case, his debasement of the coinage, if actually carried into effect, was so short-lived that no traces of it are likely to remain.

The *Lex Cornelia de falsis*, passed under the administration of Sulla, appointed a court of inquiry (*Quaestio perpetua*) to investigate certain fraudulent practices, including the issue of false money. Amongst other things expressly forbidden by the lex is the coating of copper coins with silver (*aes argentare*). Here, then, we have an explicit reference to plated money and an equally explicit repudiation of it by the Roman government. The interesting point, which unfortunately is not quite so explicit, is whether the offenders, against whom the act was directed, were unauthorized persons, i.e. forgers, or whether they were regular officials of the mint, acting under the *tresviri monetales*. The former alternative seems the more likely. At the same time it will scarcely be denied that a measure of this kind, directed against a department of the State, is by no means inconsistent with a good deal of Sulla's drastic legislation.

We are forced, then, to admit that such information as we can glean from ancient sources leaves our second question unanswered. Hence we turn to the coins themselves.

Here one fact stands out with undeniable clearness. Despite the repressive measures of the *Lex Cornelia de falsis* and the ingenuity of Gratidianus, the issue of plated coins continued unchecked. Here I would offer a correction to Mr. Grueber's generalization on p. xlii

⁵ Cicero, *De legg.*, ii. 6. 14.

of his *Coins of the Roman Republic*. "It is probable", he says, "that this false money did not remain long in circulation, for after the death of Sulla there was a decided improvement in the silver coinage, not only in the purity of its metal, but also in its general fabric." If under the terms "purity of metal" and "general fabric" we include plated coins, as indeed we must, the statement is manifestly untrue. Mr. Grueber evidently took for granted that the *Lex de falsis* was faithfully carried out and that it effected a real improvement in the coinage—as, of course, it ought to have done. But, apart from a superficial improvement in the style of the coins which occurs about the middle of the first century B.C., the quality and general state of the coinage, particularly with regard to the number of plated coins in circulation, were no better after Sulla's time than they were before.

The hoard from St. Swithin's Lane, which has been fully described by Dr. Lawrence, is one of the most remarkable pieces of evidence regarding plated coins that has so far come to light. The hoard, moreover, is unique inasmuch as it is entirely composed of plated coins, unmixed with any of the regular currency. I have no doubt in my own mind that the coins contained in it are, without exception, ancient forgeries. Although they range ostensibly from the moneyer D. Junius Silanus (90-89 B.C.) down to the time of Claudius, well over a century later, they reveal the fact, beyond any reasonable doubt, that all were manufactured at one and the same time and presumably by the same forger, who seems to have lived early in the reign of Nero. Not only is the proportion of coins struck from identical dies abnormally large, but the

coins, with scarcely an exception, have the same smudgy, cast-like, appearance. The dies used were clearly of very inferior quality, and were in all probability cast from genuine coins. This method of reproducing dies involves very little mechanical skill and seems to have been used extensively by forgers. A similar but rather more elaborate process was probably used at the mint.

The existence of a hoard of this nature may be accounted for in a variety of ways, all of which, so far as we are concerned, are purely conjectural. But in the early days of the Roman occupation of Britain these spurious coins are more likely to have passed undetected than they would have at a later date, when Roman customs and coinage had become more familiar to the inhabitants of London.

This St. Swithin's Lane hoard is, as I said, one of our most important pieces of evidence regarding plated denarii. But can we argue from it to plated Republican coins generally? That is to say, because these coins are, as I honestly believe, ancient forgeries, are we justified in inferring that *all* plated denarii belong to the same category?

Against such a conclusion are two facts, which are not easily disposed of:

(1) We are confronted by an almost unbroken series of plated coins from about 140 B.C. (or even earlier) down to imperial times. In fact, it is probably not an over-statement to say that a completely representative collection of Republican denarii might be formed entirely of plated coins.

(2) In a large number of cases the style and workmanship of plated coins are precisely similar to those

of the regular silver. Actually one or two die-identities between silver and plated coins have been noted.

It is almost impossible, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that plating, which after all was not a difficult process, was not confined to forgers, but was actually employed at the mint unless we adopt the highly improbable hypothesis that "official" dies might, by some means or other, fall into the hands of unauthorized persons, unconnected with the mint, who made illicit use of them.

Perhaps the essential difference between an official coin and a contemporary forgery is not quite as simple as the existence of plated money suggests. The official coinage produced by the various mints under the authority of the Republic is, taking it all round, remarkably consistent, so that when we find coins that in some way deviate from the style or standard characteristic of any official mint, be they plated or otherwise, there is definite ground for regarding them as forgeries.

EDWARD A. SYDENHAM.

REVIEW.

Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, Vol. iv, Antoninus Pius to Commodus. By HAROLD MATTINGLY. Pp. cc+964 and 111 plates. London: printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1940. Price £5.

THE publication of this massive volume in August 1940 is an achievement which claims the gratitude not only of specialists in Roman imperial numismatics but of the educated world. For it is a symbol of the triumph of scholarship in the very face of destruction and disaster and a monument to that spontaneous spirit of international comradeship and collaboration in the field of learning which adverse circumstances may thwart for a time but can never kill. Volume iv of the Catalogue has, indeed, fully maintained the high standard of technical excellence, both in the printing and in the production of the plates, set by its predecessors. But, in the present reviewer's opinion, the introductory essay to the volume now before us reveals literary and interpretative qualities definitely surpassing those displayed in the corresponding portion of its immediate predecessor, vol. iii (Nerva to Hadrian), to which tribute has been paid in the pages of this *Chronicle* (N.C. 1937, pp. 324-30). After passing through the complementary and balancing phases of action under Trajan and "contemplation" under Hadrian, the Empire settled down in equilibrium under Pius to its appointed task; and the "propaganda" value of its coinage, for the first time fully understood in all its aspects by the government during the early decades of the second century, is now, in the latter half of the century, assumed as an axiom and exploited to the utmost: the coins are now, more than ever before, the official running commentary on the times. Meanwhile modern students of imperial history no longer need converting to an appreciation of the coinage as perhaps the most instructive and illuminating primary source at their command. Such considerations would seem to have inspired the author with an even greater confidence in the significance of his work, with the power of penetrating, in the light of the coinage, still more intimately into the import and spirit of his period and of reconstructing its life and problems in a quite peculiarly vivid and arresting style.

The plan of the introductory essay closely resembles that of its predecessors—a general survey of the outstanding interests and problems of the period as a whole, followed by special introductions to the three successive reigns. In each of the latter, to which a chronological table is prefixed, the author starts with a discussion of chronological questions raised first by the *A'* and *A* and then by the *Aes*. A large part of these special introductions consists, as before, of an interpretative description of the types; and it is here that one of the most obvious differences between the coinage of the Antonines and that of their three immediate predecessors strikes the eye. From the inauguration of Pius' eleventh tribunician year in December 147 onwards the vast bulk of the coinage of all the emperors is precisely dated to within a year at least by the tribunician number. During the first nine years of Pius' rule a large number of his coins can be assigned with certainty to the years 138, 139, 140-144 or 145-147 by the titles COS DES II, COS II, COS III, and COS IIII which they respectively bear; while within the period 140-144 the legends IMP II and COS DES IIII fix the dates of the coins which carry them as 143 and 144. The coinage has thus assumed the rôle of *annales*, in the literal sense of the term, in which year by year Rome's story is unrolled. While the literary sources tend to acquaint us with *momenta rerum*, the march of events, the coinage brings before us not these only but also the more "permanent aspects of a system that"—in spite of the gathering storm-clouds under Marcus and the extravaganzas of Commodus, still, on the whole, throughout our period—"ran so smoothly that it hardly seemed to move" (p. xi). The life of a people or empire does not consist of a series of crises, spectacular incidents, or new "programmes". There are certain regular and steadily flowing channels into which beneficent rulers seek to direct its course, certain features of everyday policy which it is well to keep constantly before the public mind. This, clearly, is the explanation of those general and so-called conventional types and legends (e.g. p. clxvii) repeated, sometimes year after year, with no obvious topical significance, alongside of the more dramatic comments on the *res gestae* of the day, at home and abroad, on conspiracies, births, marriages and deaths, on public functions, and on religious ceremonies of special import or the intensive "boosting" of new ideas and the re-statement of old ones in a novel context.

All readers will welcome the appearance of two new

features in the special introductions—a chapter on medallions and a general survey, or estimate, of each emperor and his *saeculum*, the spirit of his age. In deciding to include in his work a rapid review of the chief medallion-types of individual reigns Mr. Mattingly has taken up the challenge thrown down by P. L. Strack, in whose *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* the medallions are discussed and catalogued along with the coins. But here the British Museum pieces are excluded from the Catalogue proper—and rightly excluded, so we believe. It is, of course, true that throughout the whole range of Roman imperial issues such complete independence of the ordinary official and legal monetary systems as that enjoyed by Renaissance or modern medals was a phenomenon quite unknown. It is clear that a Roman medallion admits of no ready-made, hard-and-fast, single definition. The frontier between a coin and a medallion can never be drawn with absolute exactitude. But there are among the varied products of the Roman imperial mints numerous pieces falling into certain well-defined categories which, while they conform externally to many of the general rules governing the ordinary coinage, undoubtedly stand above and apart from the regular currencies; and, in spite of their obvious points of difference from modern medals, they filled a quite special and unmistakably medallic rôle. They are pieces which the evidence, external and internal, proves to have been struck by the emperor for solemn commemoration and to have been primarily and specifically intended for presentation or distribution by him as individual, personal gifts within a limited circle of recipients, in a large proportion of cases on New Year's Day, whether reckoned according to the calendar, or according to the regnal year. Any idea of their circulation as currency was either wholly absent or quite secondary and subordinate. The large bronze pieces, or medallions proper, with which in the Antonine period we are almost exclusively concerned, are clearly differentiated from the regular currency by certain well-defined features of structure, style, and content. In content, indeed, they tend to show a striking independence of the coinage. The vast majority of their reverse-types either do not appear at all on ordinary coins or are only found there in less rich and complex versions. In view, then, of this real distinction in scope, purpose, and character between medallions and current coins we fully support Mr. Mattingly's contention that it is inadvisable to

combine the study of the former as closely with that of the latter as Strack has done (p. xciv). Special points raised by the author's account of medallion reverse-types will be discussed below. With regard to the general surveys wherein each reign, as mirrored in its coinage, is assessed and summarized, two quotations will suffice to suggest their quality. "[The reign of Antoninus Pius] is like a deep wide reach of still water where the river runs full and even before it reaches the rapids. Or, to change the metaphor, the great body of the Empire is sufficiently at rest for us to study the flow of the blood through its veins and the play of the muscles on its limbs" (p. ci). "The [later] coinage [of Commodus] plunges hither and thither, not only beyond the norms of Marcus, but even beyond all previous traditions of the Roman mint. It ends on a note of almost uncontrollable hysteria" (p. clxxxiii). No one can complain that numismatic studies do not make for enlivening the style of history.

For many students of the imperial coinage the introductory chapters on the interpretation of reverse-types are inevitably the main focus of interest, as each successive volume of the Catalogue appears. They are, moreover, of their very nature, more productive of criticism and discussion than any other section of the work; and it is to a small selection from among the numerous points there raised that we propose to devote the rest of this review.

On p. lxxx Mr. Mattingly accepts Strack's interpretation of the Antonine "province" series as being "no true continuation of the Hadrianic but a treatment of the same subject in an entirely different spirit". The provinces are seen "above all as tributary and Italy has her privileged position in the centre". That Pius' own outlook did, as early as 139, make for the re-instatement of Italy as the sovereign province cannot, indeed, be denied (see *The Hadrianic School*, p. 112). But such criticism of Hadrian's tendency to place Italy on a level with the provinces does not necessarily preclude us from interpreting the "province" series as an acknowledgement, or appreciation, by Pius of his predecessor's attitude and policy towards the provincials themselves, as the seal, as it were, set by Pius upon his own act of vindicating his adoptive father's life-work and memory by securing his consecration (*ibid.*, p. 144). Strack notes that it is not the remission of the tax, but its payment, which is depicted, that Italy does not appear and that the province types occur only on senatorial bronze: in

fact, he regards our series as directly inspired by the Senate's "Selbständigkeit" in the choice of types (Strack, *op. cit.* iii, S. 41, Anm. 96). But the very occasion for which the types were issued—the actual offering of the *aurum coronarium* (reduced by half) by the provincials—and the fact that Pius remitted the whole of the tax for Italy (as Hadrian had done before him) are sufficient explanation both of the scenes depicted and of the non-appearance of Italy in the series. Incidentally, no coin-type has come down to us actually commemorating Pius' remission for the Italians of the whole of their share of the tax; while the very alacrity with which the provinces are shown hurrying to offer their gifts might well be interpreted as a tribute to the success of Hadrian's imperial idea. Again, a real "Selbständigkeit" enjoyed by the Senate in the matter of coin-types has yet to be proved. As Mr. Mattingly himself points out, the senatorial coinage of 139 does not differ seriously in tone from the imperial: in some cases "it even seems to interpret the imperial policy more freely and generously than the imperial mint itself". How far, indeed, are we really justified in making this distinction between "senatorial" and "imperial" coinage in the second century? Is it really so significant that the "province" types only occur on the *aes*? For while it is true that the Antonine provinces do not appear on the "imperial" gold and silver, it is also true that the Hadrianic *Italia* of the "senatorial" bronze is no whit more distinguished from the other provinces than her sister of the "imperial" *denarii*.

One of the most interesting problems presented to us when studying the Roman world of the second century A.D. is that of trying to determine the nature of the religious belief which the average educated person had in the pagan gods. It must be confessed that Mr. Mattingly seems to us to betray a kind of contradiction or *haesitatio iudicii* in his treatment of this question. On the one hand he tells us that "the world of thought on which the die-engraver drew was a world of living imagination and belief. Many Romans believed literally in the actual existence of the powers that appear on the coins. Even those who did not so believe used such thought-forms as a convenient way of describing the mysterious reality that they failed to comprehend" (p. xxv). He refuses "to brand as absurd the view that there was any reality of any kind behind the objects of pagan worship" (p. xxvi); and he assures us that "the Roman was very certain of a spiritual world and very

sure that it was closely bound up with the world which he saw and felt" (p. xxvii). With this estimate of the sober reality of pagan religious faith we warmly agree. It is only the modern convention, followed by so many critics, of projecting into ancient times their own unquestioning acceptance of the dogmas of agnosticism and unbelief which obscures the fact that a balanced and educated mind can be genuinely convinced of the existence and activity of supernatural and unseen powers. It is thus somewhat surprising to find Mr. Mattingly asserting in the same breath, by implication at least, that mental apathy is the necessary concomitant of belief, when he lays it down that under the Roman Empire "*as always* [our italics] few had the intellectual energy to be positive disbelievers" (p. xxv). Again, the author is puzzled by the Roman conception "that the actual material show of an imperial largesse had somewhere behind it in the spiritual world a goddess, *Liberalitas*, holding a magic horn of plenty, but a real *abacus*, such as he had seen as part of the furniture of this show": he finds it strange "how the Roman could be at once so practical and so religious" (p. xxvii). But surely it is not the show itself, but the "divine" imperial virtue of generosity prompting the show, which the goddess *Liberalitas* personifies. *Cornucopiae* and *abacus* are the natural symbols of that virtue when shown in allegory. We have no more reason for supposing that the Romans thought of *Liberalitas* as actually standing somewhere with these objects in her hands than we have for imagining that the sculptors of medieval cathedrals thought of *Sancta Mater Ecclesia* as actually standing somewhere and holding a real chalice, such as they had seen as part of the "furniture" of her liturgy. No Christian literally believes that the Eternal Father in Heaven wears a Papal tiara or that St. John the Baptist stands before His throne with an actual *Agnus Dei* in his hand, St. Peter with an actual bunch of keys, or a canonized bishop with an actual model of the cathedral which he built, because he sees them thus symbolically portrayed in Christian art. Why should not the pagans of the second century have had something of the same attitude towards the representations in imperial art of their gods and celestial patrons? This hesitation on Mr. Mattingly's part between his instinctive sense of the reality of pagan religious belief and his conformity to modern scepticism comes out very clearly in his handling of the story of the "Miracle of the Rain" among the Quadi in 173. While appearing not to

question the existence of genuine belief among the Romans that Heaven had intervened on this occasion on Rome's behalf, he will not allow its genuineness in the Emperor's case. "Marcus, Stoic philosopher though he was, allowed a place to superstition, in governing the minds of the masses" (p. cxxxix). "Marcus, like his Stoic masters, recognized that the masses need religious consolations, with which the sage can dispense" (p. cxlix). But why dismiss the whole episode as "superstition"? Why exempt Marcus from the natural human instinct to see the divine hand behind surprising and inexplicable phenomena? There is, indeed, always the danger, human nature being what it is, of "superstitio" creeping in to taint genuine "religio", as when Marcus had two live lions tossed into the Danube in obedience to Abonuteichos' oracle (p. cxlix) or when he perhaps over hastily allowed the coinage to confer on the Egyptian Hermes the monopoly of divine aid in the incident of the rain. But he deliberately labels his coin-type RELIG(io) AVG(usti), thus taking personal responsibility for it, as it were; and in the later version of the Column the divine presence still broods above the Roman legions, a presence portrayed as a mystic, awe-inspiring, indeterminate figure, unconnected, as Mr. Mattingly observes (p. cxxxix) "with Hermes or any other god". The deeply religious spirit which pervades imperial art in the second century—whether it be relief-sculptures on public monuments or coin-types, both designed to serve the "intelligenza" as well as the masses, or medallions designed for educated persons alone—cannot be explained away in terms of "opium of the people". Mr. Mattingly does not forget that the Christians themselves, believing that all things come from God, naturally looked upon the "Miracle of the Rain" as an act of direct divine intervention granted in answer to their own prayers. Christians, whether early or modern, as worshippers of the One True God, do indeed "readily question whether the powers that the pagans called 'gods' were really such" (p. xxvi). What they are less disposed to question is the genuineness of pagan belief in the objective existence and operation of divine beings.

On p. cxxxv, note 2, apropos of the "Mars in Action" and Mars Victor types of Marcus' fifteenth tribunician year, it is stated that nothing can as yet be made of the distinction between bearded and unbearded representations of the god. Is it possible that the bearded god is the patron of the seasoned veterans, the beardless that of the new

recruits? On Trajan's Arch at Beneventum the upper relief of the left-hand pylon on the city side shows *Italia* presenting two of her sons to the Emperor as recruits for military service in the presence of a youthful, beardless Mars (*Jahreshefte*, ii, Abb. 96). The pendant relief of the right-hand pylon shows Trajan presenting two children of veteran colonists to *Italia*, who holds a ploughshare and is accompanied by a bearded Mars (*ibid.*, Abb. 97). In the chronological table on p. ciii the year 166 is given as the date of Commodus' reception of the title of Caesar. Thus it is not as "just created Caesar" (p. cxxxviii) that Commodus is presented to the troops by Marcus in the PROVIDENTIA types of 171-172 (p. 624, nos. 1425/6), but as the mainstay of the dynasty now that Verus is dead, or as the pledge of future successes to follow up the victories gained in Germany that year. The following may be added to the list of corrigenda: p. xxv, note 2 read "Velleius Paternulus ii, 103" for "Velleius Paternulus iii, 103"; on p. cxxxiii read "Temple of Rome and Venus" for "Temple of Rome and Verus".

The surveys of the medallions of each reign are intended, Mr. Mattingly tells us, "only to introduce, not to exhaust, the subject" (p. xcix), which does, in our opinion, merit independent study on its own account. But so convinced are we of the importance of these sections, both as supplementing the coin record and as drawing the attention of readers to the intrinsic interest and significance of medallions *in genere*, that we venture to suggest a few corrections and additional considerations here. The large "framed" piece of Antoninus Pius in Berlin, showing Cybele in her lion-car (p. xcv = Gneecchi, ii, no. 81) and the Paris piece, also of Pius, with Lapiths and Centaurs in contest (p. xcvi = G. ii, no. 94) are neither of them ancient. The type of the Emperor grouped with Victory and Ceres, bearing the date of Pius' twenty-first tribunician year, cannot be verified (p. xcvi = G. ii, no. 22). The CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM piece of Pius, showing Concordia holding Victory and eagle, is an ordinary coin without S • C • (p. xcv = G. iii, no. 125). The Paris medallion of Pius' nineteenth tribunician year shows Ceres grouped with Neptune, not with Jupiter, as Gneecchi states (p. xcvi = G. ii, no. 65). Again, Ceres is grouped, not with Hercules, as Gneecchi believes, but with Triptolemus—his serpent-car is clearly visible on the extreme right on the design—on a piece struck by Pius for Diva Faustina (p. xcvi = G. ii, no. 16). The practically oblite-

rated exergue legend of another of Faustina's posthumous medallions, with the Sabine women intervening in the fight between Romans and Sabines, should almost certainly be read as SABINAE, not, with Gneecchi, as AETERNIT . . . (p. xcvi = G. ii, no. 2). Turning to the medallions struck for Marcus Aurelius during the reign of Pius, Mr. Mattingly repeats Gneecchi's error apropos of the Berlin piece issued in 145, in identifying the seated figure in the centaur-car with Venus instead of with Bacchus (p. xcvi = G. ii, no. 73). Mr. Mattingly's interpretation of the group of a standing figure and helmeted seated figure on the Paris piece, of 149 as Honos and Virtus can hardly be right (p. xcvi = G. ii, no. 33): the seated figure is clearly male, whereas Virtus is female, and the standing figure is certainly female, with long *chiton*, *stephane*, and branch, instead of male, half-draped and holding a *cornucopiae*—the guise under which Honos is normally shown in imperial art; Gneecchi's description of the group as representing Mars and Venus still seems to be the best. As regards the TEMPORVM FELICITAS type showing Hercules drawn along in a car by four centaurs, no mention is made of the fact that the centaurs carry attributes of the Four Seasons, a detail which gives special point to the *temporum* of the legend and suggests definite connexions with the New Year: Hercules, the great benefactor of man, has overcome the forces of evil and harnessed them to the service of good, thus inaugurating good times for the world in general and in particular for the agricultural year (p. xcvi = G. ii, no. 31. Cf. Calza, *La Necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra*, p. 184, fig. 92 = mosaic in Tomb 101, showing Hercules seated and holding a zodiac frame, from which emerge four maidens with the attributes of the Seasons). No consideration is given to Strack's very convincing suggestion that the various Fecunditas types of Faustina II, struck under Pius, celebrate the births of imperial children (p. xcix). The child seated on a peacock between two dancing Corybantes on another of Faustina II's early types is almost certainly not a girl but a boy (p. xcix = G. i, no. 9. Cf. Strack, *op. cit.*, iii, S. 113). When we pass to the author's survey of Marcus' own medallions we find a few points which call for comment. The type struck for Lucius Verus in 166 with the junior Emperor on a platform presenting a figure to four soldiers represents, not Verus investing a king with royal status, but, as Gneecchi hints, Verus presenting to the troops the youthful Commodus, just raised

in that very year to the rank of Caesar (p. cxlvi = G. ii, no. 14). Here Commodus appears as older than his actual age (five years)—a common numismatic convention. And Mr. Mattingly does not mention a delightful little piece in Paris with busts of the two new Caesars, Commodus and his younger brother, Annius Verus, one on either side, which was obviously struck for this occasion in 166 and portrays them at their actual ages of five and three years respectively (G. iii, tav. 151, no. 8). The type struck by Marcus in his own name in 168/9 surely shows Abundantia, not Iustitia, seated, while two *genii* stagger towards her under the weight of an enormous *cornucopiae* (p. clxvi = G. ii, no. 56). One of Faustina II's later types shows a girl standing in the centre and receiving the Three Graces from Venus, while Juno (Lucina?), seated, crowns her from behind. Mr. Mattingly rightly identifies the girl with either Faustina or her daughter Lucilla: he might have noted that she is represented in the attitude of Spes—hope of offspring (p. cxlviii = G. ii, no. 32). The excellent survey of Commodus' medallions suggests no special criticisms, beyond the remark that three of the smaller pieces quoted on p. clxxxii—APOL MONETAE (G. iii, no. 193), SAE-CVLI FELIC (G. iii, no. 185), and I O M SPONSOR SEC AVG—are ordinary, non-S • C •, coins.

The introductory essay to vol. iv abounds in many other interesting questions and problems which cannot be treated here. Other critics will doubtless raise and solve them elsewhere. If we have largely confined ourselves to the detailed criticism of a few chosen points, this should at least convince the author of our deep sense of the significance of every item in his great book, not for numismatists only, but for students of the wider aspects of Roman imperial history, art, and thought in the second century A.D.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE.

XVI.

NOTES ON THE OXFORD COLLECTIONS.

(6) PHRYGIA TO GALATIA.

[SEE PLATES XII-XIV.]

THIS instalment completes the survey of Asia Minor. Details have been given in all cases of the source from which the coins came to Oxford: the additions of b., c., and d. to the names respectively mark bequests, collections deposited, and donations. The coins described as (Baldwin, 1939) come from a collection recently obtained by Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons, which seems to have been formed at or near Mersina about the end of last century, as the great majority of the bronze pieces were Cilician, with Soli predominant: they were shown at the British Museum about 1900, but there is no record there of their provenance.

Some unpublished varieties of the Sandan types of Tarsus have been omitted, as casts of them have been sent to Miss D. H. Cox of Yale, who is making a study of the series.

PHRYGIA.

ACMONEIA.

1. Head of city-goddess r., veiled and turreted.

r. ↓ [AKMONE] l. ↓ TIMOΘE Artemis advancing r., wearing chiton, drawing arrow from quiver with r., holding bow in l.: beside her, stag r.

Æ ↑, 17 mm., 3.75 g. (E. Shepherd)

This coin is of better style than those of the same types with double magistrate's name.

ÆZANIS.

1. r. ↑ AIZANITΩN Cult-statue standing to front, veiled, r. hand resting on head of stag standing l.: b. d.

ΣΕΠΙΚΑ ΏΑΚΚΙΚΟΥ Hermes standing to front, head l., nude, holding in r. purse, in l. caduceus: b. d.

Æ ↑, 16.5 mm., 3.74 g. (E. Rogers)

The obverse type, with one stag only, is an unusual variant.

AMORIUM.

1. Head of city-goddess r., with turreted crown: b. d.

↪ [A]ΜΟΡΙΑΝΩΝ Lion bounding r., caduceus under hinder paws: i. f. l. ab. ^{AC} KAP

Æ ↑, 16 mm., 4.18 g. (H. Weber, 7010)

In the Weber catalogue the second name is given as KM.

ANCYRA.

1. ΘΕΑΝ ΏΡΩΜΗΝ Bust r., draped, with turreted crown: b. d.

ΣΑΝΚΥ ΏΠΑΝΩΝ Dionysos standing to front, head l., himation over l. shoulder and round waist, holding kantharos in r., resting l. on thyrsos: at his feet, panther standing l.: b. d.

Æ ↓, 20 mm., 3.67 g. [Pl. XII. 1] (Nicolaides)

APAMEIA.

1. Head of Artemis r., with crown of three turrets: b. d.

Marsyas advancing r., playing on flute, nebris floating behind: i. f. r. ↓ ΑΠΑ[, l. ↓ ^{ANT}Λ[: [bel., Maeander].

Æ (a) ↑, 15 mm., 4.45 g. (Peterson sale)

(b) ↑, 12 mm., 1.96 g. (Christ Church c.)

2. Head of Zeus r., laur.: b. d.

Crested helmet l.: i. f. r. ↓ ΑΠΑΜ[, l. ↓ ΑΝ[

Æ ↑, 12 mm., 2.16 g. (Peterson sale)

3. As 1, but on rev. r. ↓ ΑΠΑ[1. ↓ ΔΙΟΔ[
POY
Æ ↑, 14.5 mm., 3.93 g. (Peterson sale)
4. As 1, but on rev. r. ↓ ΑΠΑΜΕ, 1. ↓ ΔΙ
Æ ↑, 15 mm., 4.22 g. (Nicolaides)
5. Head of Zeus r., laur.: b. d.
Cult-statue to front, wearing polos, veil, and chiton,
fillets pendent from hands: i. f. r. ↓ [Α]ΠΑΜΕΩ[N],
1. ↓ ΕΥΑΓΟΡ[
Æ ↑, 18 mm., 5.98 g. (Nicolaides)
It may be noted that on the coin of this type H.
Weber 7029, now in the Ashmolean, the magistrate's
name should be read ΑΠΟΛ
6. ՀԺԻ ՉՄՈՏ Bust r., bearded, laur., and draped:
b. d.
ՀΠΕΛΛΑΓΟΝ ՉԴ ՕՏԱՄԱՄԵ (i. f.) Ω N Hermes
standing to front, head l., holding purse in r., caduceus
and chlamys on l. arm: b. d.
Æ ↓, 24 mm., 6.25 g. (Bodleian c.)
The obverse is from the same die as *B.M.C. Phrygia*
90/123.
7. Bust of Athene r., wearing crested helmet and aegis:
b. d.
ՀԱՍԱՄ ՉԷΩ N Eagle r., on thunderbolt, wings
open, wreath in beak: b. d.
Æ ↓, 17 mm., 2.45 g. (Nicolaides)

Elagabalus.

8. ՀԱՅԴ·Կ·Մ·ԱՅ ՉԱՆԴՆԵԻՆՈՑ Bust r., laur., wear-
ing cuirass.
ՀԵՍԻ·Λ· Μ·Α·ΣΕΥ· Չ·ԴՕ·Β·ΑΠΑΜԵ Tyche standing
·ΓΡΑ· ΩΝ
l., wearing kalathos, long chiton, and peplos, holding
in r. rudder, in l. cornucopiae.
Æ ↑, 25.5 mm., 6.42 g. [Pl. XII. 2] (Baldwin)
The bust on the obverse seems to be that of
Elagabalus rather than of Caracalla: the *B.M.C.*
takes the latter view for coins with the same
magistrate's name, the *Inv. Wadd.* the former.

BRUZUS.

Maximus.

1. $\zeta\Gamma\text{IOY}\text{OY} \ \Sigma\text{MA}\Xi\text{I}\text{MOCK}$ Bust r., bareheaded, wearing cuirass and cloak.

$\Sigma\text{B} \ \text{POY}\Sigma$ (ex.) \rightarrow $\text{I}\Omega\text{I}\text{H}$ Demeter standing r., holding torch in each hand, in car drawn by two winged serpents.

\mathcal{A} \downarrow , 26 mm., 6.27 g. (Mrs. Birch, Smyrna)

CADI.

Commodus

1. $\zeta\text{AVTAAVP} \ \Sigma\text{KOMODOC}$ Bust r., laur., back view.

$\zeta\text{EPI}\text{MIAI}\text{MHN}\text{O}\Phi\text{ILOVAPXKA}\Delta\text{OHN}\Omega\text{N}$ Zeus standing l., wearing chiton and himation, holding eagle on r., sceptre in l.

\mathcal{A} \downarrow , 24 mm., 8.21 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

The beginning of the reverse legend is double-struck.

CIBYRA.

1. Youthful bust r., wearing helmet and chlamys.

Horseman wearing helmet and cuirass galloping r. with spear couched: bel. \rightarrow KIBYPAT [

\mathcal{R} \uparrow , 16 mm., 3.63 g. [Pl. XII. 4]

(E. D. Barff, Smyrna)

The helmet on the obverse is of unusual form.

2. Youthful bust r., wearing helmet and chlamys.

Horseman wearing helmet and cuirass with shield on l. arm galloping r. with spear couched: i. f. l.

bunch of grapes, bel. \rightarrow $\text{KIBYPAT}\Omega\text{N}$

\mathcal{R} \uparrow , 16 mm., 2.71 g. (pierced).

(F. Ll. Griffith d.)

Faustina.

3. $\zeta\Theta\Xi\text{A} \ \Sigma\Phi\text{AVCTINA}$ Bust r., draped.

Wicker basket: ab. \rightarrow KIBVPA bel. \rightarrow $\text{T}\Omega\text{N}$

\mathcal{A} \uparrow , 21 mm., 5.61 g.

(New College c.)

CIDYESSUS.

Gallienus.

1. QAVKAIΠAIKΓAΛΛIHNOCCEB Bust r., rad., back view: i. f. Π Π

QEP·AP·AVP·MAPKONKIDYH ←CCΕΩΝ Polydektes (?) standing l., himation round waist, sceptre in l., looking at Perseus advancing r., head turned back, wearing short chiton and winged shoes, holding in r. head of Medusa, in l. harpe.

Æ ↓, 32 mm., 14.68 g. [Pl. XII. 6]
(W. T. Ready)

COTIAEUM.

Vespasian.

1. QKOTIAEISO[YEΣΠA]CIANONKAICAPA Head r., laur.

ZEΠI KAAV ZAPETID [OΣ] Zeus standing l., nude, r. arm raised.

Æ ↑, 21 mm., 4.70 g. (New College c.)

This differs from *B.M.C. Phrygia* 164/34 and 165/35 in the absence of the epithet ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ on the reverse.

Caracalla.

2. QAVT·K·M·AVPH·CEVHPOC ANTΩNEINOC Head r., laur.

ZEΠI·Γ·IOYΛ·KOΔPA ZTOV·APX·KOTIAEΩN Herakles standing to front, head r., nude, resting r. on club, holding on l. arm infant Telephos, whose arms are raised towards him: lion-skin on l. arm.

Æ ↓, 31 mm., 12.17 g. (Christ Church c.)

3. ZANTΩNINOC ZAV --- CTOC Head r., laur.

QEPIMA·PHAMENEAB·B (ex.) →KOTIAEΩN Herakles standing l., nude, with r. grasping horns of stag fallen l., and planting r. knee on its back: club in l.

Æ ↓, 31 mm., 12.11 g. (Baldwin)

DIONYSOPOLIS.

1. Head of Dionysos r., crowned with ivy.

r. ↓ ΔΙΟΝΥ[ΣΟ] l. ↓ ΠΟΛΙΤ[ΩΝ] Thyrsos bound with fillets erect: i. f. l. crescent, r. star.

Æ ↑, 16 mm., 2.90 g. (Hess)

DOCIMIUM.

1. ΔΗΜΟC Head r., youthful, laur.: b. d. [Round countermark, quiver(?)]

ΔΟΚΙ ΜΕΩΝ Tyche standing l., wearing kalathos, chiton, and peplos, holding in r. rudder, in l. cornucopiae: b. d.

Æ ↓, 22 mm., 5.17 g. (Raye d.)

Published by Wise, p. 8, as of Cius.

Diadumenian.

3. ΩΜ-ΟΓΕΛ-ΜΑΚΡΑΝΤΩΝ-ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟC-K.

Bust r., bareheaded, wearing cuirass and cloak.

ΔΟΚΙ ΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Athene advancing r., wearing helmet, long chiton, and aegis, brandishing spear in r., shield on l. arm.

Æ ↓, 30 mm., 11.28 g. (Nicolaidēs)

EPICTETEIS.

1. Youthful bust r., in crested helmet with cheek pieces lowered, draped: b. d.

r. ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΕ Horse walking r.: above back, pilos surmounted by star: i. f. l. ab. ΕΑ, between legs Χ

Æ ↑, 18.5 mm., 6.51 g. (W. H. Buckler d.)

2. As 1, but to l. l and ↓ΜΟ

r. ↓ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤ Horse walking r.: above back, pilos surmounted by star and palm ☞: i. f. l. Λ(?) and ↓ΓΑΙΟΥ

Æ ↑, 21 mm., 6.76 g. (H. Weber 6986)

The Weber catalogue does not mention the l on the obv. and the Λ(?) on the rev.: the latter is possibly the lower part of a monogram.

EUMENEIA.

1. Head of Athene r. in crested Corinthian helmet.
 r. ↓ΕΥΜΕ l. ↓^{NEΩN}ΒΑΧΧΙΟΣ Nike flying l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm.
 Æ ↑, 20 mm., 4.76 g. (Baldwin)

Domitia.

2. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΚΕΒΑΧΘ Bust r., draped.
 Ο)...ΑΝΤ...VΛAAPX[i. f. r. ↓ΕΥΜΕ l. ↓[N]ΕΩN Kybele seated l., wearing long chiton, holding patera in r., resting l. arm on tympanum.
 Æ ↑, 15 mm., 2.00 g. (New College c.)

M. Aurelius Caesar.

3. Σ·M·ΑΥΡΗΑΙ·ΔΟΒΗΡΟC·KAI Bust r., bareheaded, back view.
 ΕΥΜΕΝΕ ΩΝ ΔΑΧΑΙΩ Ν Zeus seated l., himation over legs, holding Nike l. on r., resting l. on sceptre.
 Æ ↑, 24 mm., 9.47 g. [Pl. XII. 3] (Baldwin)

HIERAPOLIS.

1. Head of Apollo r., laur.
 r. ↓ΙΕΡΟ l. ↓ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Goddess seated l., wearing long chiton and peplos, on three shields, holding on r. Nike bearing crown, resting l. on sceptre: i. f. r. ↓Α, ex. →ΜΥΣΩ
 Æ ↑, 19.5 mm., 4.73 g. (Nicolaidēs)
2. Bust of Sarapis r., wearing modius and draped: b. d.
 ΚΙΕΡΑ ΔΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche standing l., wearing kalathos, chiton, and peplos, holding in r. rudder, in l. cornucopiae: b. d.
 Æ (a) ↓, 18 mm., 2.82 g. (E. Shepherd)
 (b) ↑, 17.5 mm., 2.61 g. (Nicolaidēs)

The two coins are from the same dies in reversed positions.

3. $\zeta\Delta\eta\ \dot{\nu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ Head r., youthful, laur.: b. d.
 $\zeta\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\omicron\ \dot{\nu}\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\eta$ Isis standing l., wearing long
 chiton, holding in r. sistrum, in l. situla: b. d.
 $\mathcal{A}\epsilon$ \downarrow , 20 mm., 3.54 g. (Nicolaidēs)
4. $\dot{\nu}\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma\upsilon\eta\ \zeta\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Bust r., youthful, draped:
 b. d.
 $\dot{\nu}\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\ \zeta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\eta$ Apollo standing r., wearing
 long robe, holding in r. plectrum, in l. lyre: b. d.
 $\mathcal{A}\epsilon$ \downarrow , 27.5 mm., 10.57 g. (Nicolaidēs)

Augustus.

5. $\zeta\varsigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\varsigma\ \dot{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Head r., bare.
 $[X]\alpha\rho\eta\varsigma$
 r. \downarrow $\chi\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ l. \downarrow $[\iota\epsilon]\rho\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\eta$ Apollo as
 $\kappa\omega$
 on 4.
 $\mathcal{A}\epsilon$ \uparrow , 20 mm., 6.28 g. (Christ Church c.)
6. $[\zeta\varsigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\varsigma]\ \dot{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Head r., bare.
 $\rightarrow\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi[O]\mid\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\eta\mid\Delta\omicron\rho\nu\kappa\alpha\mid\eta\omicron\varsigma$ in linear
 border.
 $\mathcal{A}\epsilon$ \uparrow , 15 mm., 2.43 g. (Christ Church c.)

Tiberius.

7. $\dot{\nu}\tau\iota\beta\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho$ Head r., laur.
 r. \downarrow $\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\omicron$ l. \downarrow MENAN
 $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\eta$ $\Delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Apollo as on 4. [Round
 countermark, six-pointed star.]
 $\mathcal{A}\epsilon$ \uparrow , 15 mm., 3.94 g. (Christ Church c.)

Britannicus.

8. $\zeta\beta\rho\iota\tau\alpha\ \eta\eta\ \dot{\nu}\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha[P]$ Bust r., bareheaded,
 draped.
 $\omicron\varsigma\upsilon\eta\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma\alpha\eta\tau\iota\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\omega\eta$ Table, on
 which two crowns: to r., palm \uparrow
 $\mathcal{A}\epsilon$ \uparrow , 17.5 mm., 3.59 g. [Pl. XII. 5]
 (Bodleian c.)

M. Aurelius Caesar.

9. ΣΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ· ΨΗΡΟΚΑΙ Bust r., bareheaded, back view.

bel. → ^{ΙΕΡΑ}ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hades standing in car drawn by four horses galloping r., holding Persephone round waist.

Æ ↓, 42 mm., 34.30 g. (Baldwin)

Faustina.

10. ΨΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΨΕΒ[ΑΧΤΗ] Bust r., draped.

Ψ[ΙΕ]ΡΑΠ ΨΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Men standing to front, head l., wearing short chiton and chlamys, crescent behind shoulders, holding pine-cone in r., resting l. on sceptre.

Æ ↓, 19 mm., 3.72 g. (Baldwin)

LAODICEIA.

1. ΣΗΜΟCΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΨΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Bust r., laur., chlamys on l. shoulder.

ΨΕΠΙΠΑΙΑΠΙΓΡΗΤΟC CΙΑΡΧΟΥΓ

(ex.) → ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Aphrodite seated l. on high-backed throne, wearing long chiton and peplos, holding patera in r., sceptre in l.: at her knee Eros standing r., r. hand raised.

Æ ↓, 43.5 mm., 50.96 g. (Baldwin)

Julia Domna.

2. ΣΙΟΥΛ·ΔΟ ΨΜΝΑΨΕΒ Bust r., draped. [Round countermarks, ΠΙ and head r.]

ΣΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΨΝΕΩΚΟΡ (ins.) ΨΩΝ Harpocrates standing to front, head l., crowned with skhent, r. hand to mouth, cornucopiae and chlamys on l. arm.

Æ ↓, 31.5 mm., 14.82 g. (Nicolaidēs)

3. ΣΙΟΥΛΙΑΔΟ ΨΜΝΑΨΕΒΑΧΤ Bust r., draped.

ΣΛΑΟΔ ΨΙΚΕΩΝ Table, on which prize-crown: below, → ΑCΙΑΚ | ΟΜΟΔ | ΕΙΑ

Æ ↓, 30 mm., 16.78 g. [Pl. XII. 7] (Baldwin)

Caracalla.

4. $\Sigma\text{AVKMAVAN } \Sigma\text{TΩNEINOC}$ Bust r., laur., wearing cuirass and cloak.

$\Sigma\text{ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝΝΕ } \Sigma\text{Ω KOPΩN}^{\text{P}}\text{ΠH}$ Athene standing l., wearing helmet, chiton, aegis, and peplos, holding on r. Nike, resting l. on spear, by which shield: to l., before her, altar. [Round countermark, $\overline{\text{P}}$]

Æ ↓, 36 mm., 18.76 g. (C. Warren d.)

*NACOLEIA.**Trajan.*

1. $\Sigma\text{ANTPAIANOCKAICAP}$ Head r., laur.

$\Sigma\text{NAKOΛEΩN}$ Bust of Mên r., wearing cap, on crescent.

Æ ↓, 17.5 mm., 3.55 g. (New College c.)

*PELTAE.**Antoninus Pius.*

1. $\Sigma\text{AVTKAICAP } \Sigma\text{ANTΩNEINOC}$ Bust r., laur., back view. [Round countermark, crescent and star.]

$\Sigma\text{ΠEΛTHNΩN } \Sigma\text{MAKEΔON } \leftarrow \Omega\text{N}$ Zeus seated l., wearing himation, holding in r. patera, resting l. on sceptre.

Æ ↓, 32 mm., 15.08 g. (New College c.)

PHILOMELIUM.

1. Bust of Nike r., draped, palm behind shoulder.

ab. $\rightarrow \Phi\text{IΛOMHΛ}$ bel. $\rightarrow \text{ANT IΓO}$ Two cornucopiae bound together at base and turned r. and l., with fillets: between, thunderbolt horizontally, above which crescent upwards and star between the horns.

Æ ↑, 22 mm., 9.89 g. (Sotheby's, 26.7.1910)

Geta.

2. $\Sigma\text{ΛOCEN } \Sigma\text{GETACK}$ Bust r., bareheaded, back view.

$\Sigma\text{ΦIΛOMH } \Sigma\text{EΠIAKOVTOYΓ}$ Tyche standing l., wearing kalathos, chiton, and peplos, holding in r. rudder, in l. cornucopiae.

Æ ↓, 21 mm., 5.35 g. (Baldwin)

SYNNADA.

1. Head of city-goddess r., with crown of three turrets :
b. d.

r. ↓ΣΥΝΝΑ[l. ↓ΦΙ ΛΩΝΙ Zeus standing l., himation round waist, holding thunderbolt in r., resting l. on sceptre.

Æ ↑, 22 mm., 6.52 g. (Sotheby's, 26.7.1910)

2. ἘΒΟ ὈΥΑΗ Bust r., laur. and draped : b. d.

ἘΣΥΝΝΑ ὈΔΕΩΝ Dikaiosyne seated l., wearing long chiton and peplos, holding in r. scales, in l. cornucopiae : b. d.

Æ ↓, 24 mm., 6.20 g. (Christ Church c.)

3. ἘΣΥΝΝΑ ὈΔΕΩΝ Eagle r., head l., wings open :
b. d.

ἘΚΡΑΚ ὈΚΟΒ Owl standing r., head to front, on amphora : b. d.

Æ ↑, 17 mm., 3.89 g. (A. H. Sayce b.)

The legends and types are those of Imhoof, *Gr. M.* 224/742^a, but interchanged.

Augustus.

4. ἘΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΚ ὈΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ Head r., bare.

ἘΚΡΑ ΚΚ ΟΥ Zeus seated l., himation round legs, holding on r. Nike r., resting l. on sceptre.

Æ ↑, 19 mm., 6.97 g. (Baldwin)

TEMENOTHYRAE.

1. ἘΤΗΜΕΝΟΚ ὈΟΙΚΙΟΤΗΚ Bust r., youthful, draped :
b. d.

ἘΣΚΟΠΕΛΙΑΝΟΚΑΡ ὈΧΩΝΤΗΜΕΝΟΘΥ (ins.) ὈΡΕΥ ἘΚΙ Herakles standing r., nude, r. hand behind back, l. resting on club and holding lion's skin : b. d.

Æ ↓, 26 mm., 10.13 g. (Spink)

THEMISONIUM.

Treb. Gallus.

1. QAVTOKKΓOVIBTPEBΓAΛΛOCCEB Bust r., laur., back view: three dots under bust.

ζΘΕΜ ΝΙΚΩΝΕΩΝ Herakles standing, head r., nude, club raised in r., l. elbow resting on stele over which lion's skin is thrown.

Æ ↓, 25 mm., 10.46 g. [Pl. XII. 8] (E. Rogers)

LYCIA.

CRAGUS.

1. Head of Apollo r., laur., hair in loose wavy curls: by neck Λ Υ

Lyre: i. f. →Κ Ρ and, bel., to l., stalk of corn: square incuse.

Æ ↑, 16.5 mm., 1.67 g. [Pl. XIII. 1]
(Baldwin)

2. As 1, but hair in formal curls.

As 1, but bel. to l. crown of Isis.

Æ ↑, 17 mm., 1.52 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

3. As 2.

As 2, but no symbol.

Æ ↑, 15 mm., 1.47 g. (W. T. Ready)

CYANEAE.

1. Head of Apollo r., laur., hair loose, quiver behind neck.

Lyre: i. f. ab. →ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, bel. Κ Υ: square incuse.

Æ ↑, 14 mm., 1.86 g. (W. T. Ready)

Gordian III.

2. QAYTKAIMANTΓOPΔIANOCCEB Bust r., laur., back view.

l. ↑KYANCI r. ↓ΤΩΝ Warrior standing to front, head r., wearing crested helmet, cuirass, and greaves, resting r. on spear, l. on shield.

Æ ↑, 84 mm., 16.34 g. [Pl. XII. 9]
(E. Rogers)

MASICYTES.

1. Head of Apollo r., laur., hair in wavy curls: by neck Λ Y
Lyre: i. f. \rightarrow M A, to r. plectrum λ : square incuse.
R \uparrow , 14 mm., 1.68 g. (Balliol Coll. c.)
2. As 1, but head l., hair in formal curls, no letters.
As 1, but to l. laurel-branch, to r. star.
R \uparrow , 15 mm., 1.46 g. (E. Shepherd sale)
The style of this coin is cruder than that of *B.M.C. Lycia*, Pl. xiii. 17.
3. Head of Artemis r., wearing stephane, quiver at shoulder: by neck Λ Y
Quiver with strap upwards: i. f. bel. \rightarrow M A: square incuse.
R \uparrow , 11 mm., 0.73 g. (E. Shepherd sale)
4. As 3, but no letters.
As 3, but i. f. $\begin{matrix} M \\ \Lambda \\ Y \end{matrix}$
R \uparrow , 13 mm., 0.70 g. (E. Shepherd sale)
5. Head of Artemis r., wearing stephane: bel. \rightarrow Λ Y
Quiver upwards: on l. arrow, on r. bow: i. f. r. \uparrow MA: b. d.
Æ \uparrow , 17 mm., 2.85 g. (Spink)

PHASELIS.

1. Prow of galley r.: bel., dolphin r.
Stern of galley r.: i. f. ab. wreath and \rightarrow Φ A Σ H
Æ \leftarrow , 18 mm., 5.30 g. (G. J. Chester d.)

? TREBENNA.

Antoninus Pius.

1. Σ A V T K T A I Λ A Δ P Σ A N T Ω N E I N O C Head r., laur.
Helen standing to front, wearing long chiton and peplos with veil, sceptre in l., between Dioskouroi standing to front, heads inwards, nude, with stars

on heads, each holding horse by bridle with outer hand, spear with inner: in ex. → TP

Æ ↓, 34 mm., 23.71 g. [Pl. XIV. 6] (Baldwin)

The style and reverse-type of this coin suggest an origin in the Lycian neighbourhood.

PAMPHYLIA.

ASPENDUS.

1. Two wrestlers engaging: the one on r. holds with his l. hand the r. wrist of the other, and places his r. against his chest: b. d.

1. ↑ΕΣΤΦΕΔΙΙΥΣ Slinger, wearing short chiton, stepping r. and discharging sling: i. f. r. triskeles r.: square incuse with dotted border.

Æ ↑, 26 mm., 10.69 g. (Godwyn b.)

2. Two wrestlers engaging: the one on l. holds with both hands the l. arm of the other, and grips his r. leg between his calves: b. d.

As 1.

Æ ↓, 24 mm., 10.89 g. [Pl. XIII. 4]
(Kemble Coll. c.)

The pose of the wrestlers is unusual: the nearest to it seems to be *J.I.A.N.* 1903, Pl. XII. 5.

3. Two wrestlers engaging: the one on l. holds with both hands the l. arm of the other: between them → ΛΦ: b. d.

As 1, but triskeles l.

Æ ↑, 25 mm., 10.19 g. (Balliol Coll. c.)

4. Circular shield with dotted rim.

Head of Athene r. wearing crested helmet: to r. spear-head ↑: i. f. → Δ M

Æ ?, 15 mm., 2.33 g. (Nicolaidēs)

See Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.* 317-18, for the attribution to Aspendus: this coin, of the same types as his no. 28, but different letters, adds another link to the series with forepart of horse and sling. The letters on his no. 31 (quoted from Svoronos) should probably be read O Θ, as on a specimen in the Ashmolean.

Julia Maesa.

5. ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΜΑΙΑΚΑΝ Bust r., wearing stephane and draped.

Sarapis seated l., crowned with modius, wearing himation, r. hand extended over Kerberos seated l. at his feet, l. on sceptre : before him, Isis standing r., crowned with disk and horns, wearing long chiton and peplos, holding sistrum in r., situla in l. : behind him, Demeter standing l., crowned with modius, wearing veil and long chiton, resting r. on long torch : in ex. → ΑΣΠΕΝΔΙ | ΩΝ

Æ ↓, 33 mm., 20.99 g. [Pl. XIII. 2]

ATTALIA.
M. Aurelius.

1. ΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ Head r., bare.

ΣΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ Bust of Athene r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.

Æ ↓, 20 mm., 3.73 g. (Christ Church c.)

Volusian.

2. ΩΑΚΓΟΝΑΦΓΑΛΟΝΟΛΣΕ Bust r., laur., back view.

ΣΑΤΤ ΣΑΛΕΩΝ Asklepios standing to front, head l., himation round waist, r. hand on serpent-staff.

Æ ↑, 21 mm., 4.40 g. (Nicolaidēs)

Gallienus.

3. ΩΑΝΚΑΙΠΟΝΑΙΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΝΟΝ Bust r., laur., back view : to r., l

ΣΑΤΤ ΣΑΛΕ (ex.) → ΩΝ Distyle temple-front, eagle in pediment with head l. and wings open : within, baetylic figure to front with head crowned with low polos, draped : before it, three small figures to front with hands clasped : at sides, above, on l. star, on r. crescent, below, on l. and r. small altars.

Æ ↑, 37 mm., 21.13 g. [Pl. XIII. 5] (Baldwin)

MAGYDUS.

1. Bust of Sarapis r., crowned with modius and draped :
b. d.

ΣΑΓΥ ΣΔΕΩΝ Isis standing l., wearing long
chiton and peplos, holding in r. sistrum, in l. situla :
b. d.

Æ ↓, 15 mm., 2.67 g. (E. Rogers)

PERGA.

1. Head of Artemis r., laur., bow and quiver behind
neck : b. d.

r. ↓ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ l. ↓ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ Artemis standing
to front, head l., wearing short chiton, holding wreath
in r., resting l. on spear : bow and quiver behind r.
shoulder : at her feet, stag standing l., looking up at
her : i. f. l. A : b. d.

Æ ↑, 32 mm., 16.30 g. [Pl. XIII. 6]
(Godwyn b.)

The style of the obverse is much freer than that
of the normal examples of this series.

Commodus.

2. ζ[] ΣΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ Bust r., laur., back view.

ζ[ΠΕΡ] ΣΓΑΙ Distyle temple-front, eagle in pedi-
ment : within, baetyl crowned with polos and draped.

Æ ↓, 15 mm., 2.51 g. (G. J. Chester d.)

Julia Domna.

3. ΣΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΔΟΜΝΑΣΕΒ Bust r., draped.

ΣΠΕΡ ΣΓΑΙ ΩΝ Artemis standing to front, head r.,
wearing long chiton, holding in r. arrow, in l. bow.

Æ ↑, 26.5 mm., 10.69 g. (Nicolaidēs)

Sev. Alexander.

4. ΣΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΣΕΥΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΕ Head r., rad. :
before neck, star.

ΣΠΕΡ Γ ΣΑΙΩ Ν Three Graces standing, nude,
arms linked, outer ones to front, heads r. and l. out-
wards, central one to back, head r.

Æ ↑, 27 mm., 12.91 g. (Nourse d.)

Published by Wise, p. 66, Pl. xiv. 13.

Philip II.

5. $\text{QAVKMIOY}\cdot\text{CEOY}\cdot\text{ΦIAIΠΠOC}\cdot\text{CE}\cdot$ Bust r., laur., back view.

$\text{ΠEPΓ}\ \text{ΔAIΩN}$ Elpis standing l., wearing long chiton and peplos, holding flower in r., raising skirt with l.

Æ ↑, 25.5 mm., 8.90 g. (Nicolaidēs)

Gallienus.

6. $\text{QAVTKAIΠOΛIΓAΛΛIHNOC}\text{EB}$ Bust r., laur., back view: before, l

$\text{ΠEP}\ \text{ΔΓAIΩN}$ Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm.

Æ ↑, 30 mm., 15.75 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

SIDE.

1. Head of Athene r. wearing crested Corinthian helmet. Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton and peplos, holding out wreath in r.: i. f. l. pomegranate, bel. → A Φ

Æ ↑, 30.5 mm., 16.82 g. (Godwyn b.)

2. As 1, but on rev., bel., → ΣΗ: [on obv., oblong countermark, anchor].

Æ (orig. plated). (a) ↑, 28 mm., 12.90 g. (G. J. Chester b.)

(b) ↑, 28 mm., 12.46 g. (G. J. Chester d.)

These are two cores for plating from the same mould.

3. Head of Athene r. wearing crested Corinthian helmet. Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath: l. ↓ CI ΔH

Æ ↑, 16 mm., 2.36 g. (Spink)

Caracalla.

4. $\text{CAVKMAVCEOVH}\ \text{ΔANTΩNEINOC}\text{EB}$ Head r., laur.

$\text{CCI}\ \Delta\ \text{ΔHTΩN}$ Athene standing l., wearing crested helmet, long chiton, and aegis, with r. holding crown over trophy, palm in l.

Æ ↓, 30 mm., 15.43 g. (Christ Church c.)

Macrinus.

5. $\Sigma\text{AVKMO}\Pi\text{CEOVH}\ \Sigma\text{MAKPEINOC}$ Bust r., laur., wearing cuirass and cloak.

$\Sigma\text{CI}\ \Sigma\text{DH}\ \text{T}\Omega\text{N}$ Athene standing to front, head r., wearing helmet, long chiton, and aegis, resting r. on spear, beside which shield, holding thunderbolt in l.

Æ \uparrow , 32.5 mm., 20.02 g. (Nicolaidēs)

Sev. Alexander.

6. $\Sigma\text{AVKMAVCEOV}\ \Sigma\text{AAE}\Sigma\text{----OCCE}$ Bust r., laur., back view. [Round countermark €]

$\Sigma\text{CI}\ \text{~}\Delta\ \text{H}\ \Sigma\text{T}\Omega\text{N}$ City-goddess standing to front, head l., wearing turreted crown, long chiton, and peplos, holding in r. prize-crown, in l. stern of galley: at her feet l. garlanded altar, on r. standard topped with pomegranate.

Æ \uparrow , 31 mm., 16.85 g. (Baldwin)

The reverse type is that of *B.M.C. Lycia, §c.*, 156/90 of Mamaea.

Julia Mamaea.

7. $\Sigma\text{IOV}\Lambda\text{IA}\ \Sigma\text{MAMEA}$ Bust r., draped.

$\Sigma\text{CI}\ \text{~}\Delta\text{HT}\Omega\text{N}$ River-god reclining l., himation over legs, holding in r. prize-crown, in which two palms, in l. reed.

Æ \uparrow , 31 mm., 14.27 g. (J. M. C. Johnston sale)

The reverse type is that of Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.* 340/23^a of Alexander.

Maximinus.

8. $\Sigma\text{AVK}\Gamma\text{IOOV}\ \Sigma\text{HMA}\Sigma\text{IMEIN}\ \leftarrow\text{OC}$ Bust r., laur., back view.

$\text{~}\text{C}\ \text{I}$ (ex.) $\rightarrow\Delta\text{HT}\Omega\text{N}$ Rhea seated to front, head l., holding with r. peplos over her head, on l. arm infant Zeus: to r. and l. Kouretes standing facing inwards, both wearing helmet and cuirass, holding sword in r., shield raised in l.: below them, river-gods reclining facing inwards: at feet of Rhea, on l. lioness l., head back, on r. crab.

Æ \downarrow , 33 mm., 16.79 g. [Pl. XIII. 7] (Baldwin)

Gordian III.

9. $\Sigma\text{AVTKAIMANT } \Sigma\text{ΓOPΔIANOC} \leftarrow \text{CEB}$ Bust r., laur., back view. [Round countermark, €]

$\Sigma\text{C } \Sigma\text{IA } \cup \text{HTON}$ Galley r., with sail raised, five rowers and steersman shown.

Æ ↑, 30.5 mm., 14.35 g.

(Baldwin, ex J. Anderson)

Salonina.

10. $\Sigma\text{KOPNHAIACAAONIN} \leftarrow \text{ACE}$ Bust r., draped, wearing stephane: i. f. r. ↓

$\Sigma\text{CIAHTON } \Sigma\text{NEOKOPON}$ Athene standing to front, head l., wearing helmet, long chiton, and aegis, resting r. on shield, l. on spear.

Æ ↑, 31 mm., 18.33 g. (W. T. Ready)

The obverse legend is varied from that of *J.I.A.N.* 1903, 217/404.

SILLYUM.

Sept. Severus.

1. $\Sigma\text{AVKACE } \Sigma\text{CEOVHPOC}$ Bust r., laur., wearing cuirass and cloak.

$\Sigma\text{CIA } \Sigma\text{AVEON}$ Apollo standing to front, head l., holding laurel-branch in r., resting l. elbow on tripod.

Æ ↓, 24 mm., 10.70 g. (E. Rogers)

PISIDIA.

ADADA.

Caracalla.

1. $\Sigma\text{AKAN } \Sigma\text{TONINOC}$ Bust r., laur., back view.

$\Sigma\text{AΔAΔ } \Sigma\text{EΩ} \leftarrow \text{N}$ Cista mystica, with closed lid, in distyle shrine.

Æ ↑, 12 mm., 1.27 g. (Nicolaidēs)

ANTIOCHIA.

1. Head of Hermes r.: b. d.

r. ↑CO l. →A Modius containing three ears of corn.

Æ ↓, 11 mm., 1.06 g. (Nicolaidēs)

Caracalla.

2. Σ IMPCAEMAVRAN Σ TONINVSPIVAVG Head r., laur.

Σ COLONI·CAE SARIA·ANTIOC Emperor r., on horseback, cloak flying behind: in ex. \rightarrow SR

\mathcal{A} \downarrow , 85 mm., 28.39 g. (W. T. Ready sale)

Geta.

3. Σ IMP·CAES·P·SE Σ PT·GETA·AVG Head l., laur.

\curvearrowleft CAESANTIOCHCOL Wolf r. suckling twins: in ex. SR

\mathcal{A} \downarrow , 82 mm., 25.56 g. (Christ Church c.)

Volusian.

4. Σ IMPCVIBAFGAIVOLVSSIAN Bust r., rad., back view.

Σ ANTIO Σ C HIOCLA Roma seated l., helmeted and draped, holding on r. Nike r., resting l. on spear: by seat, shield: in ex. \rightarrow S R

\mathcal{A} \downarrow , 25 mm., 8.47 g. (Bodleian c.)

Valerian.

5. Σ IMPCAERASLLOVNAHHIO Bust r., rad., back view.

Σ ANTIOCH Σ CIC River-god reclining l., himation over legs, holding cornucopiae in r., resting l. elbow on inverted urn: in ex. \rightarrow S R

\mathcal{A} \uparrow , 23 mm., 5.97 g. (Sotheby's, 26.7.1920)

The blundered inscription is presumably meant for Valerian.

Gallienus.

6. Σ IMPCAESPLICGAHHIOEAV Bust r., laur., back view.

Σ COLCAE S Σ ANTIOC H Two cornucopiae, joined at base, each surmounted by a human head facing inwards.

\mathcal{A} \uparrow , 80.5 mm., 12.75 g. (Christ Church c.)

7. $\Sigma\text{IMPCAESCALLI } \Sigma\text{ENVSAYG}$ Bust l., rad., wearing cuirass and cloak.

$\Sigma\text{COLAN } \Sigma\text{TIO}$ Two cornuacopiae, joined at base: between, $\rightarrow\text{COM}$

$\text{Æ } \downarrow$, 24 mm., 9.10 g. (Nicolaides)

APOLLONIA.

Lucilla.

1. $\Sigma\text{ΛΟΥΚΙΑΛΛΑ } \Sigma\text{CEBACTH}$ Bust r., draped.

$\Sigma\text{ΑΠΟΛ ΛΩΝ } \Sigma\text{ΙΑ ΤΩΝΛΑΥΚΙΩΝ}$ Demeter seated l., crowned with modius, wearing chiton and peplos, holding in r. corn, in l. torch.

$\text{Æ } \downarrow$, 27 mm., 8.11 g. [Pl. XIII. 3] (Nicolaides)

ARIASSOS.

Julia Domna.

1. $\Sigma[] \Sigma\text{ΔOMNAC}$ Bust r., draped.

$\Sigma\text{ΑΡΙΑΣ } \Sigma\text{CEΩΝ}$ Cult-image standing to front, crowned with polos, draped, and veiled, arms outstretched.

$\text{Æ } \downarrow$, 17 mm., 4.91 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

BARIS.

Volusian.

1. $\Sigma\text{ΟΥΕΙΒΓΑΛΛΟC } \Sigma\text{ΟΥΟΛΟΥC CIOCC}$ Bust r., laur., back view.

$\Sigma\text{ΒΑΡΗ } \Sigma\text{ΝΩΝ}$ Tyche standing l., crowned with kalathos, wearing long chiton and peplos, holding in r. rudder, in l. cornuacopiae.

$\text{Æ } \downarrow$, 25 mm., 7.02 g. (Nicolaides)

CODRULA.

Commodus.

1. $\Sigma\text{ΑΥΤΚΑΙΛΑΥΡ } \Sigma\text{KOMMOΔOC}$ Head r., laur.

$\Sigma\text{ΚΟΔΡΟ } \vee \Sigma\text{ΛΕΩΝ}$ Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm.

$\text{Æ } \downarrow$, 20 mm., 6.04 g. (Nicolaides)

COLBASA.

Antoninus Pius.

1. $\zeta\text{AVTKAICAP } \zeta\text{ANTΩNΕΙNOC}$ Head r., laur.

$\zeta\text{KO } \Lambda\text{BA } \zeta\text{CEΩN}$ Mên standing l., wearing cap and short chiton, crescent behind shoulders, holding pine-cone in r., resting l. on sceptre, r. foot on bull's head.

Æ ↓, 19 mm., 3.40 g. (Nicolaides)

Herennius Etruscus.

2. $\mathfrak{IETPAE} - - \zeta\text{CEBA}$ Bust r., bareheaded, back view.

$\zeta\text{KO}\Lambda\text{BA } \zeta\text{CEΩN}$ Tyche standing l., wearing kalathos, long chiton, and peplos, holding rudder in r., cornucopiae in l.

Æ ↑, 12 mm., 1.52 g. (Nicolaides)

COMAMA.

Antoninus Pius.

1. $\zeta\text{IMPCAETAE } \zeta\text{ANTONINVSAP}$ Head r., laur.

$\zeta\text{COLAVGCOM } \zeta\text{AMENORVM}$ Legionary eagle between standards.

Æ ↑, 27 mm., 8.68 g.
(Baldwin, ex. J. Anderson)

CREMNA.

1. Bust of Zeus r., laur. and draped: b. d.

Winged thunderbolt vertically: i. f. r. ↑KP: b. d.

Æ ↑, 15 mm., 4.10 g. (Smyrna)

The work is rougher than that of coins of these types with serial letters.

ETENNA.

Julia Mamaea.

1. $\zeta\text{IOVAIA } \zeta\text{MAMEACEB}$ Bust r., draped, wearing stephane.

$\zeta\text{ETEN } \zeta\text{NEΩN}$ Goddess(?) standing l., wearing long chiton and peplos, resting r. on sceptre, l. on hip.

Æ ↑, 25 mm., 6.91 g. (Nicolaides)

ISINDA

1. Head of Zeus r., laur., hair in formal curls : b. d.
Warrior, helmeted, on horse galloping r., with spear raised in r. : bel. horse, snake r. : i. f. l., ab, Γ, bel.
→ΙΣΙΝ, to r. palm upwards.

Æ ↑, 19 mm., 4.24 g. (Nicolaidēs)

POGLA.

Caracalla.

1. ΣΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡ ΣΑΥΠΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ Bust r., laur., back view.

ΣΠΩΓ Λ ΣΕΩΝ Sarapis standing to front, head l., crowned with modius, wearing long chiton and himation, r. hand raised, sceptre in l.

Æ ↓, 35 mm., 25.21 g. (Baldwin, ex. J. Anderson)

PROSTANNA.

Antoninus Pius.

1. ΣΑΥΤΚΑΙΑΝ ΣΤΩΝΕΙΝΩΕΥC Bust r., bareheaded, wearing cloak.

ΣΠΡΟCΤ ΣΑΝΝΕΩΝ Aphrodite standing l., wearing peplos, holding apple in r.

Æ ↓, 25 mm., 8.90 g. (W. T. Ready sale)

SAGALASSUS.

Macrinus.

1. Q - -]ΚΜΟΠΕΛCΕΟΥΗΡΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC - - Bust r., laur., wearing cuirass and cloak.

ΣCΑΓΑ ΛΑC ΣCΕΩΝ Mēn standing to front, head l., wearing cap and short chiton, crescent behind shoulders, holding patera in r., resting l. on sceptre.

Æ ↓, 24 mm., 7.34 g. (W. T. Ready sale)

Claudius II.

2. ΣΑΥΚΜΑΥ ΣΡΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ Bust r., laur., back view : to r. l. [Round countermark, eagle, head l., wings open.]

ΣCΑΓΑΛ ΣΑC CΕΩΝ Hermes running r., wearing petasos and chlamys, r. hand outstretched, caduceus in l.

Æ ↑, 33 mm., 15.75 g. (Nicolaidēs)

SELGE.

1. Two wrestlers facing, nude, gripping each other by wrists: between, K: b. d.

1. ↑ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ Slinger standing r., wearing short chiton, sling raised with both hands: i. f. r. triskeles l., and, bel., lance-head: between legs, A: b. d.

Æ ↑, 24 mm., 10.21 g. (Sandeman sale)

2. As 1. [Round countermark, ornamented star of five points.]

As 1, but i. f. r. triskeles r., and, bel., club and cornucopiae upright: between legs, rosette of seven dots: b. d.

Æ ↑, 26 mm., 8.77 g. (Sandars sale)

The style is distinctly barbarous.

3. As 1, but i. f. →B H Δ

1. ↑ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ As 2, but between legs K.

Æ (orig. plated). ↑, 23 mm., 8.07 g. (Baldwin)

This core for plating does not originate from the same dies as *B.M.C. Lycia*, *g.c.* 259/22.

Antoninus Pius.

4. ζ[ΑΝΤΩ] ΝΕΙΝ Head r., laur.

ζζζ ΝΛ Club upright.

Æ ↙, 13 mm., 1.17 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

L. Verus.

5. ΝΒΗΡΟC ζΚΑΙ Head r., bare.

ΝΣΕΛ ζΓΕΩΝ Athlete standing to front, with both hands holding prize-crown on head.

Æ ↑, 16 mm., 2.86 g. (Spink)

Herennius Etruscus.

6. QKVINEPETPAMECΔEKIOCKAI Bust r., bare-headed, back view. [Triangular countermark Δ.]

ζΣΕΛΓ ΝΕΩΝ Athene standing l., wearing helmet, long chiton, and aegis, holding patera in r. over altar, resting l. on spear, against which shield.

Æ ↑, 23 mm., 5.71 g. (Nicolaides)

TERMESUS.

1. Head of Zeus r., laur.

Forepart of horse galloping l.: ab., to r., →K, bel.
→ΤΕΡ [Round countermarks, bucranium and spear-head.]

Æ ↑, 21 mm., 4.31 g. (Zitelli, Rhodes)

There may have been a second numeral after K, obscured by the countermark: the series ran to KΔ.

2. As 1, but on rev. ab. to r. →KB.

Æ ↑, 19 mm., 3.90 g. (Spink)

3. As 1, but on rev. ab. →KH, to r. thunderbolt vertically.

Æ ↑, 18 mm., 5.10 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

4. Head of Zeus r., laur.: to r. ΛΑΑ: b. d.

~ΤΕΡΜΗ C ~CΕΩΝ Horse galloping l.: b. d.

Æ ↓, 17.5 mm., 4.83 g. (Nicolaides)

TERMESUS MINOR.

1. Head of Zeus r., laur.

Forepart of horse galloping l.: to r. O, bel. →ΤΕΡ

Æ ↑, 19.5 mm., 5.77 g. [Pl. XIV. 1] (Spink)

LYCAONIA.

ICONIUM.

Nero.

1. ΩΝΕΡΩΝΚΑΙ C A ΡCΕΒΑCΤΟC Head r., laur.

ΚΛΑΥΔΕΙ Κ ΟΝΙΕ ΩΝ Head of Perseus r., wearing winged cap: behind neck, harpe.

Æ ↓, 19.5 mm., 5.67 g. [Pl. XIV. 2]
(Christ Church c.)

This may be Mi. iii. 535/10, quoted by Waddington in *J. N.* 1883. 47. 8: the head on the reverse is there described as female and turreted.

CILICIA.

ADANA.

1. Head of Demeter r., with stephane and veil: b. d.
 r. \downarrow [A] Δ ANE Ω N Zeus seated l., himation over
 legs, holding on r. Nike r., resting l. on sceptre:
 i. f. l. $\overset{P}{N}$
 $\mathcal{A}E$ \uparrow , 20 mm., 5.97 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
2. Head of Demeter r., veiled: b. d.
 ζ A Δ ANE Ω N Horse walking l.: in ex. \mathcal{A}
 $\mathcal{A}E$ \uparrow , 18 mm., 3.64 g. (Spink, ex. E. P. Warren)
3. As 2, but mon. on rev. i. f. l. $\overset{\circ}{A}$
 $\mathcal{A}E$ \uparrow , 16 mm., 3.14 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
4. Head of Zeus r., laur.: b. d.
 r. \downarrow A Δ ANE Ω N Hermes standing to front, head l.,
 wearing petasos, holding purse in r., caduceus in l.:
 i. f. l. \mathcal{A}
 $\mathcal{A}E$ \uparrow , 20 mm., 6.46 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

M. Aurelius.

5. ζ AVTKAIMAVPH Δ ANT Ω N ----- Bust l., bare-
 headed, back view.
 ζ A Δ PIA \tilde{N} Ω N Δ A Δ ANE Ω N Two emperors stand-
 ing, facing, both togate, with r. hands clasped.
 $\mathcal{A}E$ \uparrow , 27 mm., 13.17 g.
 (Baldwin, ex. J. Anderson)
6. ζ MAVPH Δ ANT Ω NINO Head r., laur.
 ζ A Δ A Δ NE Ω N Bust of Sarapis r., wearing modius
 and himation.
 $\mathcal{A}E$ \downarrow , 18 mm., 4.38 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

AEGEAE.

1. Head of city-goddess r., wearing crown of three
 turrets: b. d.
 Horse's head l., bridled: ab. \rightarrow AIΓEAION, to l. $\overline{\mathcal{A}}$
 $\mathcal{A}E$ (a) \uparrow , 20.5 mm., 6.71 g. (Bodleian)
 (b) \uparrow , 19.5 mm., 5.79 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

2. As 1, but mon. on rev. Φ to r.
 \mathcal{A} (a) \uparrow , 19.5 mm., 5.42 g. (H. F. Amedroz d.)
 (b) \uparrow , 19.5 mm., 6.89 g. (Baldwin)
3. As 1, but mon. on rev. NP
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 18 mm., 3.93 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
4. Head of city-goddess r., veiled and wearing crown of three turrets: b. d.
 Forepart of horse l., bridled: ab. \rightarrow AIGEAION,
 to r. $\overline{\text{W}}$
 \mathcal{A} (a) \uparrow , 21 mm., 7.91 g. (Godwyn b.)
 (b) \uparrow , 20 mm., 4.67 g. (Nicolaides)
5. As 4, but bust.
 Horse's head l.: ab. \rightarrow [A]IGEA[ION],
 THΣIEPA[Σ],
 bel. \rightarrow $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{KAI} \\ \text{AYTONOMOY} \end{smallmatrix}$, to r. EK
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 19 mm., 6.98 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
6. As 5, but on rev. to r. MH (lettering E and C).
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 20 mm., 4.70 g.
 (Spink, ex Allotte de la Fuÿe)
7. Head of Herakles r., bearded: b. d.
 ab. \rightarrow AIGEAION, bel. \rightarrow $\begin{smallmatrix} [\text{KA}] \\ \text{AVTONOMOV} \end{smallmatrix}$ Club and
 bow in case horizontally: i. f. r. $\overline{\text{P}}$
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 16 mm., 2.05 g. (Spink)
8. As 7, but on rev. KA
 \mathcal{A} \rightarrow , 15 mm., 2.72 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

Claudius.

9. ζ [TIKAA]VΓEPM Δ ANIKOCKAICAP Head l., laur.
 r. \downarrow AIGEAION Athene standing to front, head l.,
 wearing helmet, long chiton, and aegis, holding on r.
 Nike r. with wreath, resting l. on shield: i. f. l. bel.
 \rightarrow $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ZΠ} \\ \text{API} \end{smallmatrix}$
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 25 mm., 9.81 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

ALEXANDRIA AD ISSUM.

Sev. Alexander.

1. QAVTKAIMAPAVCEAAEZANΔPOCC Bust r., laur., back view.

ΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΣΚΑΤΙCC[O]NETHYC Nemesis standing l., wearing long chiton, r. hand at neck, l. on rod.

Æ ↑, 23 mm., 11.84 g. (Spink)

ANAZARBUS.

Augustus.

1. Head r., bare.

ΣΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩNTΩNΠPOCANAΣAP Three stalks of corn bound together.

Æ ↑, 18 mm., 4.38 g. (Baldwin)

Valerian.

2. QAVTKOYAAEPHANOC Bust r., rad., back view.

QANAZAPBOVMHTETBOC Bust of Mên r., with taenia, draped, crescent behind shoulders: i. f. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \\ M \\ K \end{array} \right.$

Æ ↓, 23 mm., 10.54 g. (E. Rogers)

AUGUSTA.

Elagabalus.

1. QAVTKAIMAVPANTΩNEINO ←C[] Bust r., laur., back view.

ΣΑΥΓΟΥC ΣΤΑ ΝΩNETHYC Asklepios standing to front, head l., laur., wearing himation, resting r. on serpent-staff, and, facing him, Hygieia standing r., wearing long chiton, holding in r. snake feeding from patera in her l.

Æ ↓, 29 mm., 12.47 g. [Pl. XIV. 3]
(W. T. Ready)

CORACESIUM.

Sev. Alexander.

1. ΣΑΥΚΜΑΥΡCEY ΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔPOC Bust r., laur., back view.

ΣΚΟΡΑΚ Η ΣΤΕΙΛΩΝ Sarapis standing l., wearing himation, crowned with modius, r. hand raised, sceptre in l.

Æ ↓, 21.5 mm., 5.52 g. (Nicolaides)

CORYCUS.

1. Head of city-goddess r., wearing crown of three turrets: b. d.

TEY
r. ↓[K]ΩΡΥΚΙΩΤΩ[N], l. ΕΠΙ Hermes standing l.,
EP
wearing petasos and chlamys, holding in r. patera, in l. caduceus.

Æ ↑, 20.5 mm., 5.42 g. (C. D. Wilkinson)

2. Head of Artemis r., bow and quiver at shoulder: b. d.
r. ↓[K]ΩΡΥΚΙΩ --- Apollo standing l., nude, holding in r. laurel-branch, resting l. elbow on column:

ΔΙ
i. f. l. ΝΙ
ΑΝ

Æ ↑, 16 mm., 3.70 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

Gordian III.

3. ΣΑΥΚΜΑΝΤ ΣΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟCC Bust r., laur., back view.

ΣΚΩΡΥΚΙΩΤΩ ΣΝΝΑΥΑΡΧ (ins.) ΣΙΔΟC Poseidon standing r., nude, resting r. on trident, dolphin on l. hand, l. foot on prow.

Æ ↓, 26 mm., 7.02 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

This variant of *B.M.C. Lycaonia*, §c. 68/16 is of much coarser work.

FLAVIOPOLIS.

Antoninus Pius.

1. Σ--- ΑΙΑΔΡ. ΣΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC Bust r., laur., back view.

ΣΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΠ ΣΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Europa seated to front, head l., wearing long chiton and holding with both hands veil flying over head, on back of bull galloping r. over waves.

Æ ↓, 34.5 mm., 22.43 g. (Bodleian)

Macrinus.

2. ΣΑΥΤΚΜΟΠΣΕ ΣΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC Bust r., laur., wearing cuirass and cloak.

ΦΛΑΟΝΙ ΟΠΟΛ ΔΕ ΙΤΩΝΕΤ, i. f. l. ^P M Nike
Ε

advancing l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm.

Æ ↓, 28 mm., 14.65 g. (W. T. Ready)

Julia Maesa.

3. Σ..... ΣΜΑΙCΑCΕB Bust r., draped, with stephane.

ΦΛΑΟΝΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΕΤΟΗΜΡ City-goddess
seated l., wearing turreted crown and long chiton,
on rock, holding in r. ears of corn: at her feet, river-
god swimming l.

Æ ↓, 27.5 mm., 10.73 g. (Jesus Coll. c.)

Maximinus.

4. ΣΑΥΤΚΓΙΟΝΟΝΗΜΑΖΙΜΕΙΝΟCΣΕB Bust r., laur., back view.

ΦΛΑΟΝΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΕΤΟΥC Ω.ΡΕΓ. Bust of
Zeus r., with taenia, himation on l. shoulder.

Æ ↓, 32.5 mm., 19.68 g. (pierced). [Pl. XIV. 5]
(Godwyn b)

IRENOPOLIS.

Antoninus Pius.

1. ΣΑΥΤΚΤΙΑΛΑΔΡΑΝΤΩ ΝΙΝΟCΣΕΒΕΥC Head r.,
rad.: i. f. Π Π

ΣΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛ ΣΙΤΩΝΕΤΟΘΡ Mountain(?).

Æ ↑, 22 mm., 8.88 g. [Pl. XIV. 4]
(Sotheby's, 27.11.1917)

The style and type of this coin, particularly the Π Π on the obverse, suggest that it may belong to the eastern of the two Cilician Irenopoleis: see Hill's remarks in *B.M.C. Lycæonia*, §c., *Introd.*, p. lxi.

Caracalla.

2. ΣΑΥΤΚΜ ----- ΕΥΗΡΟCΑΝ ----- Bust r.,
laur., wearing cuirass and cloak. [Round counter-
mark, laur. head r.]

Q---HNOΠOAI----- Nike flying l., wearing long chiton, with feet on globe, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm.

Æ ↓, 34 mm., 16.93 g. (F. P. Weber d.)

LAERTE.

1. Head of Athene r., wearing crested helmet: b. d.

ΣΛΑΕ Ρ ΨΤΙ ΤΩΝ Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm: b. d.

Æ ↑, 13 mm., 1.95 g. (Zitelli, Rhodes)

MOPSUS.

1. Head of Zeus r., laur.: b. d.

r. ΜΟΥΕΑΤΩΝ l. ↓ KAI
↓ ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ ↓ [A]ΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ Circular
altar on legs, with fire on it: bel. Δ

Æ ↑, 25.5 mm., 7.48 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

2. As 1, but on rev., bel.,

Æ ↑, 23 mm., 8.51 g. (C. D. Wilkinson)

OLBA.

M. Aurelius.

1. ΣΑΥΤΚΑΙCΜΑΥ ΨΠΑΝΤΩΝ----- Bust r., laur., back view.

Q-----ΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΚΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ Two emperors standing r. and l., both togate, with r. hands clasped.

Æ ↑, 31 mm., 27.21 g. (Baldwin)


This is the complement of *B.M.C. Lycaonia*, §c. 126/28 of Verus.

SELEUCIA.

1. Head of Athene r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and necklace: to l. ΣΣΑ: b. d.

ΟΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΤΩΙΚΑΛΥΚΑΔΝΩΙ
Nike flying l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath: i. f. l. AΘΗ
AΘΗ

Æ ↑, 22.5 mm., 7.60 g. (Cahn)

2. As 1, but on obv. i. f. l. $\overline{\text{P}}\text{E}$, bel., Δ : on rev. i. f. l. A
 Æ \uparrow , 23 mm., 4.83 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
3. Head of Apollo r., laur., hair in stiff curls: i. f. l.
 $\uparrow \text{I}\Sigma$: b. d.
 $\text{O}\Sigma\text{E}\Lambda\text{EYKE}\Omega\text{NT}\Omega\text{N}\Pi\text{PO}\Sigma\text{T}\Omega\text{I}\text{K}\Lambda\Lambda\text{YK}\Lambda\Delta\text{N}\Omega\text{I}$
 Forepart of horse r.: i. f. l. $\uparrow \Delta\text{H}$, bel. traces of
 erased letters.
 Æ \uparrow , 19 mm., 3.63 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
4. As 3, but on obv. to l. $\zeta\Sigma\text{A}$: on rev. i. f. l. $\text{A}\Theta\text{H}$
 $\text{A}\Theta\text{H}$
 Æ \uparrow , 18 mm., 3.50 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
5. As 3, but on obv., to l., ζEY : on rev., i. f. ab. ME ,
 bel. $\Delta\text{H}\text{E}$
 Æ \uparrow , 19 mm., 4.53 g. (C. D. Wilkinson)
6. As 3, but on obv., to l. [?]; round countermark,
 helmet r.: on rev., i. f. bel. NK 
 Æ \uparrow , 19 mm., 4.08 g. (C. D. Wilkinson)







Commodus.

7. $\zeta\text{AVKAIMA} \dots \text{MO}\Delta\text{OC}$ Bust r., laur., back
 view.
 $\zeta\text{CE}\Lambda\text{EVKE}\Omega$ $\text{I} \dots \dots \dots$ Commodus standing to
 front, head l., wearing chiton, resting r. on club,
 holding lion-skin(?) in l.
 Æ \downarrow , 27 mm., 10.27 g. (E. Shepherd sale)
- The work is so crude that it is hard to decide
 what the object in the emperor's l. hand on the rev.
 is meant to represent.

SOLI.

1. Head of Athene r., wearing crested Athenian helmet.
 $\Sigma\text{O}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$ Bunch of grapes on stalk, with tendrils
 and leaf: i. f. $\rightarrow\Theta\text{EO}$ ΦI
 Æ \uparrow , 13 mm., 1.85 g. (Spink, ex Warren)
2. As 1, but on obv. head l., on rev. ΣO ΛE and
 i. f. l. star of six points.
 Æ \uparrow , 12 mm., 1.81 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

3. As 2, but on obv. head r. and helmet adorned with griffin, no symbol on rev.
 $\text{Æ} \uparrow$, 12.5 mm., 1.69 g. (G. J. Chester b.)
4. As 3, but on rev. $\Sigma\text{O}\Lambda \text{E}\Omega\text{N}$ and i. f. $\rightarrow \odot \text{E}$
 $\text{Æ} \uparrow$, 13 mm., 1.73 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
5. As 3, but on rev. i. f. $\rightarrow \Lambda \text{A}$
 $\text{Æ} \downarrow$, 13 mm., 1.97 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
6. As 1, but on obv. helmet adorned with serpent, on rev. i. f. $\rightarrow \overset{\text{K}}{\Sigma}\text{O} \overset{\text{AN}}{\Lambda}\text{E}$
 $\text{Æ} \uparrow$, 13 mm., 1.90 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
7. As 6, but on rev. $\Sigma\text{O} \Lambda\text{E}$ and i. f. $\rightarrow \Phi \text{A}$
 $\text{Æ} \uparrow$, 13.5 mm., 1.71 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
8. As 1, but on obv. helmet adorned with palmette, on rev. $\Sigma\text{O}\Lambda \text{E}\Omega\text{N}$ and i. f. $\rightarrow \Sigma\text{A} \text{N}$
 $\text{Æ} \downarrow$, 12 mm., 2.09 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
9. Head of city-goddess r., wearing crown of three turrets and veil.
Two piloi surmounted with stars and bound with ribbons: bel. $\rightarrow \overset{\Sigma\text{O}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{N}}{\text{E}\Sigma}$
 $\text{Æ} \uparrow$, 21 mm., 6.78 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
10. As 9, but on rev. mon. Æ bel. ethnic.
 $\text{Æ} \uparrow$, 19.5 mm., 4.89 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
11. Head of Artemis r., with stephane: b. d.
r. $\downarrow \Sigma\text{O}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$ Double cornucopiae: i. f. l. $\rightarrow \overset{\text{E}}{\odot}$
 Æ (a) \uparrow , 19 mm., 6.54 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
(b) \uparrow , 20.5 mm., 5.80 g. (Sotheby's, 26.7.1910)
12. As 11, but on rev., i. f. l. $\rightarrow \text{A} \text{B}$
 $\text{Æ} \uparrow$, 17 mm., 3.48 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

13. As 11, but on rev., i. f. l. \downarrow 
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 16.5 mm., 3.80 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
14. Head of Athene r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet: b. d.
 r. \downarrow $\Sigma\text{ΟΛΕΩΝ}$ Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt, wings open: i. f. l. \rightarrow 
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 14 mm., 3.38 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
15. Head of Athene r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet: b. d.
 r. \downarrow $\Sigma\text{ΟΛΕΩΝ}$ Owl standing r., head to front: i. f. l.
 \rightarrow 
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 20 mm., 6.10 g. (E. Shepherd sale)
16. Head of Helios r., rad., beh. \uparrow $\overline{\Lambda}$: b. d.
 l. \downarrow $\Sigma\text{ΟΛΕΩΝ}$ Athene seated l. on cuirass, wearing crested helmet and long chiton, r. hand outstretched, l. resting on shield: i. f. r. \rightarrow 
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 26 mm., 10.92 g. (Sotheby's, 26.7.1910)
17. Head of Pompeius Magnus r.: b. d.
 \mathcal{N} $[\Pi]\text{ΟΜΠΗ}[\text{ΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ}]$ Nike advancing r., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm:
 $\mathcal{N}\Delta$ 
 i. f. \mathcal{Z} $\mathcal{B}\circ$
 $\Lambda\mathcal{H}$ 
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 19.5 mm., 5.37 g. (Baldwin, 1939)
18. As 17, but to l. Δ
 \mathcal{N} $\text{ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛ}[\text{ΙΤΩΝ}]$ As 17, but i. f. r. Δ
 \mathcal{A} \uparrow , 19 mm., 5.43 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

Julia Mamaea.

19. $\Sigma\text{ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΗ}$ \mathcal{N} ΑΜΑΙΑΝΤΕΒ Bust r., draped.
 \mathcal{N} ΠΟΜΠΗ \mathcal{N} ΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩ (i. f. l.) \mathcal{N} City-goddess seated l., wearing turreted crown, long chiton, and

peplos, on rocks: at her feet, river-god swimming l.

Æ ↓, 35 mm., 17.03 g. (pierced).

(Christ Church c.)

Philip I.

20. QAYTKIOYΦIΛIΠΠONEYCCEB Bust r., rad., wearing cuirass and cloak.

QΠOMΠHIΟΠOΛIATZ Portrait bust r., bareheaded, bearded, wearing cloak.

Æ ↓, 32 mm., 13.37 g. [Pl. XIV. 7, rev.]

(Baldwin, 1939)

The portrait on the reverse is not unlike that published by Imhoof-Blumer in *J.H.S.* xviii. 168, no. 22, which he suggests may represent Philemon.

SYEDRA.

Hadrian.

1. Q[AYTAΔ]PIANOCKAICA[P] Bust r., laur., wearing cuirass.

CC YEΔ ZPEΩN Demeter seated l., wearing polos, long chiton, and peplos, holding in r. corn, in l. long torch.

Æ ↑, 22.5 mm., 6.88 g.

(Christ Church c.)

Julia Mamaea.

2. CIΟVAMA ZMEACEB Bust r., draped.

CCVE ZAPEΩN Dionysos standing to front, head l., wearing short chiton, holding in r. kantharos (?) over panther seated l., looking back, in l. thyrsos.

Æ ↓, 27 mm., 6.10 g.

(Christ Church c.)

Her. Etruscus.

3. QKVINETPEPEMECΔEKIONKAIC Bust r., bare-headed, back view.

CVE | ΔPE | ΩN in laurel-wreath.

Æ ↓, 24 mm., 7.85 g.

(New Coll. c.)

TARSUS.

1. Female head three-quarters l., hair in streaming locks, wearing ear-rings and necklace: line b.

2-----𐤆𐤓𐤕 Bearded male head l., wearing crested Athenian helmet with floral ornament. [Pierced and chisel-cut.]


Æ (orig. plated). ←, 22.5 mm., 8.11 g.

(Cyprus Govt. d.)

This core, from a tomb-deposit, is of the same class as those described above as Side 2 and Selge 3: its provenance supports the view that such cores, which come not uncommonly from Asia Minor, are ancient, not modern, forgeries. [See Appendix.]

2. Head of city-goddess r., wearing crown of three turrets: to l. → Σ: b. d.

l. ↓ TAPΣEΩ[N] Zeus seated l., himation over legs, on high throne, holding in r. sceptre surmounted by

eagle: i. f. r. → 

Æ ↑, 21 mm., 7.93 g.

(E. Shepherd sale)

3. As 2.

r. ↑ [TAP]ΣEΩN Zeus seated l., himation over legs, holding on r. Nike r. with wreath, resting l. on sceptre.

Æ ↑, 20 mm., 3.51 g.

(Sotheby's, 7.8.1918)


4. City-goddess seated r., wearing turreted crown, veil, and long chiton, on throne with back decorated with spray, holding in r. corn: at her feet, river-god swimming r.: on throne, spray.

r. ↓ TAPCEUN As 3: i. f. r. → ΗΡ: b. d.

Æ ↑, 24 mm., 14.28 g.

(Sotheby's, 4.12.1919)


5. As 4, but throne without back or decoration.

r. ↓ TAPΣEΩN As 3: i. f. l. → 

Æ ↑, 26 mm., 9.03 g.

(E. Shepherd sale)

6. As 4, but on throne acanthus-pattern: fillet b.

r. ↓ [T]APΣEΩN As 3: i. f. l. → 

Æ ↑, 25 mm., 12.71 g.

(Bodleian c.)

7. Club upright in wreath of oak.

r. ↓ ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ Cornucopiae: i. f. l. → Π [Rectangular countermark, bow in case.]

Æ ↑, 19 mm., 5.96 g. (Spink, ex E. P. Warren)

8. As 7, but on rev. i. f. r. → Π

Æ ↑, 20 mm., 5.97 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

Trajan.

9. QAYTOKP·KAIΣ·NEP·TPAIANOΣ·ΣEB·ΓEPM·ΔAK
IK Head r., laur.

ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΣΥΠΑΤ ΨΠΠ·ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ City-goddess seated l., wearing turreted crown, chiton, and peplos, on rock, holding palm in r.: at her feet, river-god swimming r.: i. f. r. AP

Æ ↑, 25.5 mm., 13.81 g. (C. W. C. Oman)

Caracalla.

10. CAVT KAMAVPCE ΨΗΡΟCANTΩNEINOCCEB
Head r., laur., drapery on l. shoulder: i. f. → Π Π

CAΔPCEVHPAN ΨTΩNEINOYΠO (ex.) → TAPCOV MH|TPOΠ Goddess seated l., wearing kalathos, veil, and long chiton, holding on r. Nike r. with wreath, resting l. on spear: by throne, shield: i. f. → Γ B and bel., to l., → KOI | NOB | OYAI | ON

Æ ↓, 36.5 mm., 20.85 g. (Morcom sale)

Gordian III.

11. CAVTKMANTΓ ΔOPΔIANOCCEB Bust r., laur., wearing cuirass and cloak: i. f. Π Π

CTAPCOVMHT ΔPOΠOΛEΩC Emperor standing l., laur., wearing toga, holding in r. patera(?), in l.

sceptre transversely: i. f. l. M, r. ^AΓ _KB

Æ ↓, 32 mm., 18.93 g. (Christ Church c.)

12. $\Omega\Lambda\Upsilon\text{TKMANT}\Gamma\text{OP}\Delta\text{IANOC}\Sigma\text{EBAC}$ Bust r., laur., back view.

$\Omega\text{TAPCOVM H TPO}\Lambda\text{E}\omega\text{C}$ Dionysos standing to front, head l., wearing chlamys over shoulders, holding in r. kantharos over panther standing l.,

looking back, resting l. on thyrsos: i. f. l. $\overset{\text{A}}{\text{M}}$, r. $\overset{\text{B}}{\underset{\text{K}}{\Gamma}}$

Æ \uparrow , 33.5 mm., 18.53 g. (Christ Church c.)

13. As 11.

$\Sigma\text{TAPCOV M \Omega H TPO}\Lambda\text{E}\omega\text{C}$ Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm:

i. f. l. $\overset{\text{A}}{\text{M}}$, r. $\overset{\text{B}}{\underset{\text{K}}{\Gamma}}$

Æ \downarrow , 32 mm., 13.55 g. (Christ Church c.)

14. $\Omega\Lambda\Upsilon\text{TKMANT}\Omega\text{NIOC}\Gamma\text{OP}\Delta\text{IANOC}\Sigma\text{EB}$ Bust r., rad., back view: i. f. $\rightarrow \Pi \Pi$

$\Sigma\text{TAPCO VMHT \Omega PO}\Lambda\text{E} \Omega\text{CAM K}$ City-goddess seated l., wearing turreted crown and long chiton, on rock, in tetrastyle temple-front: at her feet, river-god swimming l.: i. f. $\rightarrow \Gamma \text{ B}$

Æ \uparrow , 35 mm., 21.26 g. (G. J. Chester d.)

Philip I.

15. $\Omega[]\text{OV}\Phi\text{I}\Lambda\text{I}\Pi\text{PON}\epsilon\text{VTEN}\Sigma\text{CE}$ Bust r., rad., back view: i. f. $\rightarrow \Pi \Pi$

$\Sigma\text{TAPCOVM \Omega HTPO}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega$ Dikaio-syne standing to front, head l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. scales, in l. sceptre transversely: i. f. $\rightarrow \overset{\text{A}}{\text{B}} \overset{\text{A}}{\text{M}}$ and $\downarrow \text{K} \Gamma$

Æ \uparrow , 35 mm., 18.82 g. (Bodleian c.)

Gallienus.

16. $\Sigma\Lambda\text{VKAIPH} \Gamma \Omega\text{GALLIHNOC}\Sigma\text{EB}$ Bust r., rad., wearing cuirass and cloak: i. f. $\rightarrow \Pi \Pi$

$\Sigma\text{TAPCOVMHTP \Omega O PO}\Lambda\text{E} \Omega\text{C}$ Tyche Panthea standing to front, head l., winged, wearing helmet and long chiton, holding in r. two ears of corn,

sistrum, and rudder, in l. cornucopiae: at her feet,

to r., wheel: i. f. $\rightarrow \begin{matrix} A \\ M \Gamma \\ K \Gamma \end{matrix}$

Æ ↓, 31 mm., 19.55 g. (Nicolaides)

The reverse die is apparently the same as that of *B.M.C. Lycaonia*, *δc.* 228/324 of Valerian.

ZEPHYRIUM.

1. X in wreath of laurel tied below.

$\rightarrow \text{IEΦYPI} | \Omega \text{T} \Omega \text{N} | \text{E} \text{X} \text{E}$ in wreath of laurel tied below.

Æ ↑, 21 mm., 9.01 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

ELAEUSSA.

1. Head of Zeus r., wearing taenia: to l. ↓AB: b. d.

l. ↓EΛA IOVΣIOΩ Nike advancing l., wearing long

chiton, holding wreath in r.: i. f. l. $\rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{A} \\ \text{TAP} \\ \text{ΘE} \end{matrix}$

Æ (a) ↑, 22 mm., 5.39 g. (E. Shepherd sale)

(b) ↑, 22 mm., 6.80 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

2. As 1, but on obv., to l. (Kl: i. f. l. $\rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{N} \\ \text{AE} \end{matrix}$

Æ ↑, 21 mm., 5.97 g. (Baldwin, 1939)

3. As 1, but on obv., to l. $\rightarrow \text{NE}$: on rev., l. ↓EΛAIOVΣ

ΣIOΩ, i. f. l. $\rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{NE} \\ \text{Ω} \\ \text{ΔI} \end{matrix}$

Æ ↑, 21 mm., 6.65 g. (Sotheby's, 28.11.1911)

Domitian.

4. QAYTOΔOMI TKAISAPΣEBACTOC Head r., laur.

QΣEBACTHNOΩ NΑ[VAPXIOΣ?] Nike flying l., wearing long chiton, l. foot on globe, holding in r. wreath, in l. palm.

Æ ↓, 20 mm., 4.96 g. (Christ Church c.)

GALATIA.

ANCYRA.

Julia Domna.

1. ΣΙΟΥΛΙΑ· ΨΑΥΓΟΝΣΤ[Bust r., draped.

ΣΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩ ΨΑΝΚΥΡΑΣ Dikaiosyne standing l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. scales, in l. short sceptre.

Æ ↓, 24 mm., 7.09 g. (W. T. Ready sale)

Caracalla.

2. ΣΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΨΑΥΓΟΝ[ΣΤΟΣ] Head r., laur.

ΣΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕ ΨΑΝΚΥΡΑΣ Hermes standing to front, head l., chlamys over shoulders, holding in r. purse, in l. caduceus.

Æ ↓, 29 mm., 14.96 g.
(Baldwin, ex J. Anderson)

3. ΣΑΝΩΜΕΙΝΟΣ ΨΑΥΓΟΝΣΤΟΣ Head l., laur.

ΣΗΤΡΟΠΟ ΨΑΝΚΥΡΑΣ Hekate advancing r., wearing long chiton and peplos, holding in each hand lighted torch.

Æ ↑, 30 mm., 14.46 g. [Pl. XIV. 8]
(Christ Church c.)

4. ΣΑΝΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΨΑΥΓΟΝ ΣΤ Head l., laur.

ΣΗΤΡΟΠΟ ΨΑΝΚΥΡΑΣ Nemesis standing to front, head l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. rule, in l. bridle: at her feet l., wheel.

Æ ↓, 24.5 mm., 7.45 g. [Pl. XIV. 9]
(Baldwin, ex J. Anderson)

5. ΣΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣΠΙΟΣ ΨΑΥΓΟΝΣΤΟΣ Head r., laur.

ΣΑΚΛΗΘΕΙΑΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ ΨΙΣΟΠΥΘΙΑ (ex.) → ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩ[Σ] | ΑΝΚΥΡΑΣ Four-legged table, on which agonistic crown with purse at each side: under table, vase containing palms.

Æ ↓, 30 mm., 15.86 g. (W. T. Ready sale)

PESSINUS.

Geta.

- 1.
- ζ
- ΑΥΤ-Κ-ΠΣΕΠ-Γ
- \varnothing
- ΕΤΑΥΓ Head r., laur.

\varnothing ΠΕCCINO \varnothing V NTIΩN Zeus seated l., himation over legs, holding patera in r., resting l. on sceptre.

Æ ↓, 32 mm., 15.46 g.

(Baldwin, ex J. Anderson)

TAVIUM.

Julia Domna.

- 1.
- ζ
- []ΔΟΜ
- \varnothing
- ΝΑCΕΒΑCΤΗ Bust r., draped.

ζ CΕΠΑΝΤ \curvearrowright . . . \varnothing (ex.) \rightarrow ΤΑΟVΙΑ[ΝΩΝ]
Severus (?) standing to front, head l., wearing cuirass, with r. grasping r. of Caracalla (?) standing r., wearing cuirass and cloak: on r., Geta (?) standing to front, head l., wearing toga.

Æ ↓, 26.5 mm., 11.10 g. (Christ Church c.)

APPENDIX.

THE use of plated coins in the Greek world, more particularly in the Levant, deserves careful investigation. Plated coins, except as money of emergency, are rare in Greece proper: their common occurrence in Italy is well known, but they are quite as common in Greek Asia and Egypt. In Italy such coins were issued from the official mints, and usually plated before they were struck (see W. Campbell, "Greek and Roman plated coins", *Num. Notes and Mon.* 57): the same technique seems to have been employed for the plated electrum of the Ionian region, where there was a tradition of plating going back to Polycrates of Samos: but the Eastern coins were apparently plated on cast cores with a much less stable coat of silver, which has frequently vanished. A note on two such coins of Aradus, now at Oxford, will be found in *Iraq*, v. 20: there are also in the Oxford collection two examples of *B.M.C. Lycia*, δ c., 64/14 (Masicytes) from the same mould, one with and the other without the plating, and two of *B.M.C. Lycia*, δ c., 147/30 (Side) likewise from the same

mould. Whether these were official products may be doubted: in democratic cities magistrates responsible for the coinage might at times try to make a dishonest profit, as is suggested by the Mytilene-Phocaea agreement (Michel 8): but the base-metal casts occur frequently under conditions which point rather to private forgery. I have seen several from the excavations at Naucratis, mainly copies of small Greek silver, which would hardly be imported for use among the Greek merchants: if they were produced locally, there was no native authority issuing coins before the Greek conquest, and they were presumably made by unscrupulous traders to be passed off on the ignorant Egyptians. I have also obtained cores of imitation Persian sigloi at Smyrna, which are not likely to have been issued with the approval of the Great King. A survey of the evidence obtainable is very desirable, though it might prove difficult to track down the specimens which have been dismissed by collectors as forgeries, and still more to discover their provenance.

The coin of Tabae (Caria) described in *N.C.* 5. xviii. 264 as no. 1 is a specimen of the type *B.M.C. Caria*, 165/44: I misread the reverse.

J. G. MILNE.

XVII.

ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS IN THE OXFORD COLLECTION.

(II) VESPASIAN TO DOMITIAN.

[SEE PLATES XV AND XVI.]

THE following list continues the catalogue of rare or unpublished Roman Imperial coins in the Ashmolean Museum, of which the first part was printed in *Num. Chron.*, 1939, pp. 216 ff. As before, primary reference is made to H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (= *R.I.C.*), and thereafter to H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (= *B.M.C.*).

The borders of all coins are dotted unless it is expressly stated otherwise.

VESPASIAN.

[A] A.

1. (Domitian).

Obv. C CAESAVGFDOMIT•COS III Head r.,
laur.

Rev. Anepigraphic. Type as *R.I.C.* 232, Domitian riding l.

A Den. ↓ 20 mm., 3.20 gm. (F. Ll. Griffith, 1921)

After *R.I.C.* 234. Mint of Rome, A.D. 74.

2. *Obv.* QIMP[CAES]ARVESPASIANVSAVGTRP
Head r., laur.

Rev. QTITVSETDOMITIANVSCAESARES-
PRINIVEN Titus and Domitian seated l.,

side by side, on curule chairs, each holding branch in r. hand.

Æ Den. ↓ 18 mm., 3.25 gm.

After *R.I.C.* 293: cf. note thereto for a kindred variant in the Windisch-Grätz Collection: see also *B.M.C.* ii, p. 80, notes to nos. 392-3. Mint of Lugdunum, ? A.D. 70-1.

3. (Titus).

Obv. ΝΤϢ[AESIMP] ϢVESPCENS Head r., laur.: below, traces of O.

Rev. →CQS V (i. f. above). Humped ox stg. r.

Æ Den. ↑ 18.5 mm., 3.40 gm. (Godwyn)

After *R.I.C.* 378-9: cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 101, no. 486, where the beast seems to be an eastern ox rather than a mere "cow". Eastern mintage: A.D. 76. [Pl. XV. 1.]

AES.

4. *Obv.* QIMP·CAESARVESPASIANVSAVGPM T R·P Head r., laur., with aegis.

Rev. QVICTORIA AVGV STI: i. f. to l. and r., S C Victory stg. r., l. foot on helmet, writing OB|CIVES|SER on shield hung on palm-tree.

Æ Sest. ↓ 36 mm., 28.47 gm. (Douce) Slightly double-struck.

Cf. *R.I.C.* 390-1 (and note *) for a like piece in the Hall Collection, correctly described in *B.M.C.* ii, p. 181, no. ‡, and from the same obv. die as the Oxford coin. Mint of Tarraco, &c. A.D. 69-70. [Pl. XV. 2.]

5. *Obv.* QIMPCAESVESPASIANAVGPMTRPPP-COSIII Head r., laur.

Rev. As *R.I.C.* 460.

Æ Sest. ↓ 32.5 mm., 22.75 gm. (Buck)

Cf. *R.I.C.* 460. Mint of Rome, A.D. 71.

6. The coin, *R.I.C.* 472, cancelled in *R.I.C.* ii, p. xv, is represented in the Oxford Collection, the altar being certainly absent: cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 127, no. 589, where obliteration is suggested.

Æ Dp. ↓ 26.5 mm., 13.22 gm. (Nourse)

Mint of Rome, A.D. 71.

7. Types as *R.I.C.* 481, but with obv. 4, QIMPCAES-VESPASIANVSAVGCOSIII, and globe below neck.

Æ Dp. ↓ 30 mm., 12.91 gm. (Godwyn)

Mint of Lugdunum, A.D. 71. Cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 200, no. 809. Of very fine workmanship, closely akin to that of Rome. [Pl. XV. 3.]

8. Types as *R.I.C.* 482, but with obv. 4, QIMPCAES-ARVESPASIANAVGCOSIII, and globe below neck.

Æ As. (a) ↓ 27.5 mm., 10.95 gm.

(b) ↓ 28.5 mm., 8.90 gm.

As *B.M.C.* ii, p. 200, no. †. Mint of Lugdunum, A.D. 71.

9. Types as *R.I.C.* 500, but with obv. 3, QIMPCAES-VESPASIANAVGCOSIII, and globe below neck.

Æ As. (a) ↓ 27.5 mm., 9.65 gm. (worn).

(b) ↓ 28 mm., 12.40 gm. (Certainly with AVGVSTI.)

Cf. note to *R.I.C.* 500; and *B.M.C.* ii, pp. 133, 427. Confirms *B.M.C.* ii, p. 431, Vienna addendum to p. 201. Mint of Lugdunum, A.D. 71.

10. Types as *R.I.C.* 502, but with obv. 4, QIMPCAES-ARVESPASIANAVGCOSIII (forms of letter A uncertain), and globe below neck.

Æ As. ↓ 27.5 mm., 9.54 gm.

Mint of Lugdunum, A.D. 71.

11. *Obv.* QIMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS IIII
Head r., rad.

Rev. PAX AVG (with letter variants): i. f. to l. and r., S C Pax stg. l., holding patera over altar with r., and caduceus in l.

Æ Dp. (a) ↓ 27 mm., 9.75 gm. (PAX AVG) (Kemble College)
[Pl. XV. 4.]

(b) ↓ 29.5 mm., 11.40 gm. (PAX AVG) (Kemble College)

(c) ↓ 28.5 mm., 12.81 gm. (PAX AVG) (Gordon Collection: probably from Woodeaton)

After *R.I.C.* 526. Mint of Rome, A.D. 72-3.

12. *Obv.* IMP VESPA NIA [N] AVG Rudder on globe.

Rev. PMTRP PPCOS II: i. f. to l. and r., S C Vertical winged caduceus.

Æ Quad. ↓ 17 mm., 2.65 gm. (Douce)
Obv. slightly double-struck.

After *R.I.C.* 586. Mint of Rome, A.D. 76.

13. (Titus).

Types as *R.I.C.* 614, but *rev.*, shield uninscribed.

Æ Sest. ↓ 32 mm., 25.37 gm. (Douce)

Cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 141, no. 637 and note.
Mint of Rome, A.D. 72. [Pl. XV. 5.]

14. (Titus).

Obv. Q TCAES VESPIMPPONTRPOT COS II
CENS Head r., laur.

Rev. PAX AVG VST: i. f. to l. and r., S C Pax stg. l., holding branch in r., and cornucopiae in l.

Æ Sest. ↓ 32 mm., 26.93 gm. (Douce)

After *R.I.C.* 643. Mint of Rome, A.D. 73.

[Pl. XVI. 1.]

15. (Titus).

Obv. QTCÆSARVESPASIANVSTRPCOSV̄I
Head r., rad.

Rev. CFELICITA S ƆPV[BLI]ÇA: i. f. to l. and r.,
S C Felicitas stg. l., holding caduceus in r.,
and cornucopiae in l.

Æ Dp. ↓ 29 mm., 18.15 gm. (Nourse)

After *R.I.C.* 682. Mint of Rome, A.D. 77-8.

16. (Domitian).

Obv. QCAESARAVGFDOMITIANCOSĪ Bust
r., laur., dr.

Rev. CFELICITA S ƆPVBLICA: i. f. to l. and r.,
S C Felicitas stg. l., holding caduceus in r.,
and cornucopiae in l.

Æ As. ↓ 27 mm., 10.25 gm. (Orichalcum).
(Nourse)

After *R.I.C.* 695 (c): cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 157,
no. *, note: the Oxford coin has no dot after
DOMITIAN. Mint of Rome, A.D. 72.

17. (Domitian).

Obv. QCAESARAVGFDOMITIANCOSĪ Head
r., laur.

Rev. i. f. to l. and r., S C Spes advancing l., hold-
ing flower in r.

Æ As. ↓ 27.5 mm., 9.45 gm. (Copper).
(New College)

After *R.I.C.* 699. Mint of Rome, A.D. 73.

18. *Obv.* QIMPCAESARVESP[A]SIANAṼÇÇOSĪĪĪĪĪ
Head r., laur. (globe).

Rev. CAEQVITAS Ɔ[AVGVSTI]: i. f. to l. and r.,
S C Aequitas stg. l., holding scales in r., and
leaning l. on spear or sceptre.

Æ As. ↓ 29 mm., 10.32 gm. (New College)

After *R.I.C.* 745. *Rev.* badly centred. Mint
of Lugdunum, A.D. 74.

19. *Obv.* QIMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS III
Head r., laur. (globe).

Rev. VICTORIA S C [VG VSTI]: i. f. to l. and r.,
S C Victory advancing l., holding wreath in
r. and palm in l.

Æ As. ↓ 27.5 mm., 9.35 gm. (New College)
After *R.I.C.* 746. Mint of Lugdunum, A.D. 74.

20. *Obv.* QIMP CAES VESPASIAN COS VIII Winged
caduceus between crossed cornucopiae.

Rev. S C in laur. wreath.

Æ Semis. ↓ 17 mm., 2.65 gm. (Douce)
After *R.I.C.* 803. Mint of Commagene,
A.D. 77-8. [Pl. XVI. 2.]

21. *Obv.* QIMP VESP AVG COS VIII Type as on
no. 20 above.

Rev. As on no. 20 above.

Æ Semis. ↑ 16 mm., 2.42 gm. (Douce)
After *R.I.C.* 803 and no. 20 above. Mint of
Commagene, A.D. 79.

22. (Titus).

Obv. Q T CAESAR IMP Head r., laur.

Rev. P M TR POT P P Winged caduceus.

Æ Semis. ↓ 18 mm., 3.42 gm. (Godwyn)
[After *R.I.C.* 807.] Hybrid, with *rev.* of
Vespasian (as *R.I.C.* 794). Mint of Commagene,
A.D. 71-2.

TITUS.

[A] R.

23. *Obv.* QIMPTITVSCAES VESPASIAN AVG PM
Head l., bearded, laur.

Rev. QTRPV III IMP XIII COS VII Venus stg. r.,
holding helmet in r., and leaning l. with spear
on cippus.

Æ Den. ↓ 17.5 mm., 3.15 gm.

After *R.I.C.* 3. Slight variant from *B.M.C.*
ii, p. 225, no. 11, in letter forms and *rev.*
numeration. Mint of Rome, A.D. 79.

24. *Obv.* ODIVVSAVGVSTVSVESPASIANVS

Head r., laur.

Rev. CVICTORIA SAVGVST Victory seated l. on throne, holding wreath in r. and palm over shoulder with l.

Æ Quinarius. ↓ 15 mm., 1.52 gm.

After *R.I.C.* 64 and *B.M.C.* ii, p. 246, no. 135: this latter piece shows obverse die-identity with the Oxford coin. Note the unusual positions (C 5) of the two parts of the *rev.* legend. Mint of Rome, A.D. 80-1.

AES. [Pl. XVI. 3.]

25. *Obv.* QIMPTCAESVESPAVGPMTRPCOS VIII

Head r., rad.

Rev. CERES SAVGVSTA: i. f. to l. and r., S C Ceres stg. l., holding corn-ears in r., and leaning l. on long torch, as on *R.I.C.* 111.

Æ Dp. ↓ 28 mm., 15.00 gm. (Douce)

Slightly tooled on *rev.*, but not sufficiently to make an extra A at the end of *August*. After *R.I.C.* 111, *B.M.C.* ii, p. 263, no. 192. Mint of Rome, A.D. 80-1.

26. (Domitian).

Obv. QCAESDIVIAVGVESPFDOMITIANCOS-VII Head l., laur.

Rev. i. f. to l. and r., S C Spes advancing l., holding flower in r.

Æ As. ↓ 29 mm., 12.67 gm. (Douce)

After *R.I.C.* 168 (b). Mint of Rome, A.D. 80-1.

DOMITIAN.

[A] Æ.

27. *Obv.* QIMPCAESDIVIVESPFDOMITIANAVG-PM Head r., laur.

Rev. CTR P COS VII DES VIII PP Thunderbolt on draped table.

Æ Den. ↓ 19 mm., 3.22 gm.

After *R.I.C.* 16: cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 302. Mint of Rome, A.D. 81 (third issue).

28. *Obv.* ζ IMP $\dot{\varsigma}$ AESDOMITAVG γ GERMPMTRP-
III Head r., laur. (aegis).

Rev. ζ IMPVIII $\dot{\varsigma}$ Q $\dot{\varsigma}$ XI γ CENSPO TPP Minerva
stg. l., leaning r. on spear.

\mathcal{A} Den. \downarrow 20.5 mm., 3.46 gm. (Radclyffe)

After *R.I.C.* 65: cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 315, no. 80.
Mint of Rome, A.D. 85 (second issue).

29. *Obv.* QIMPCAESDOMITAVGGERMPMTRPV
Head r., laur.

Rev. ζ IMPXICOSXII γ CENSPPP Minerva stg. r.
on prow, brandishing javelin in r., and holding
shield in l.: owl on prow to r.

\mathcal{A} Den. \downarrow 19.5 mm., 3.31 gm. (Godwyn)

After *R.I.C.* 74: slight variant of *B.M.C.*
ii, p. 318, no. 89, note (= *Col.* 196). Mint of
Rome, A.D. 86.

30. *Obv.* Q[IMPC]AESDOMITAVG GERMPMTR-
PVII Head r., laur.

Rev. QIMPXVCOSXIIICENSPPP Minerva stg.
l., holding vertical spear in r., l. hand on hip.

\mathcal{A} Den. \downarrow 19 mm., 2.84 gm. (Flan slightly
damaged.)

After *R.I.C.* 114. Mint of Rome, A.D. 88.

31. *Obv.* QIMPCAESDOMITAVG GERMPMTRP-
XI Head r., laur.

Rev. QIMPXXICOSXVCENSPPP Minerva stg.
r. on prow, brandishing javelin in r., and hold-
ing shield in l.: owl on prow to r. On prow
below Minerva's feet, raised panel, with RA in
relief.

\mathcal{A} Den. (a) \downarrow 18.5 mm., 3.31 gm.

[Pl. XVI. 4.]

(b) \downarrow 18.5 mm., 3.15 gm.

(Sir C. Warren)

After *R.I.C.* 157. The meaning of the letters
RA is not clear. Mint of Rome, A.D. 91.

AES.

32. *Obv.* QIMPCAESDIVIVESPFDOMITIANAVG-
GERCOSX Bust r., laur. (aegis).

Rev. SALVTI AVGVST: in ex., S C "Altar".

Æ As. ↓ 28 mm., 11.71 gm. (Godwyn)

Before *R.I.C.* 242 D, there marked "*C(ommon)*": but cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 359, no. §, note — "*C. 416 (authority?)*". Cohen's reading probably wrong, and the coin rare. Mint of Rome, A.D. 84. [Pl. XVI. 5.]

33. *Obv.* QIMPCAESDOMITIANAVGGERM COS-
XI Bust r., rad. (aegis).

Rev. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI: i. f. to l. and r., S C Virtus, helmeted and in military dress, stg. r., l. foot on helmet, leaning r. on spear and holding upright parazonium in l.

Æ Dp. ↓ 28 mm., 14.58 gm. (Douce)

After *R.I.C.* 268: cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 366, no. 313 (type to l.). Mint of Rome, A.D. 85. [Pl. XVI. 6.]

34. *Obv.* QIMPDOMITAVGGERM COSXI Bust of
Ceres r., dr., with wreath of corn-ears.

Rev. i. f. to l. and r., S C Sheaf of corn-ears and poppy-heads.

Æ Quad. ↓ 19 mm., 2.87 gm. (Douce)

After *R.I.C.* 276. Mint of Rome, A.D. 85.

35. *Obv.* QIMPCAESDOMITAVGGERM COSXI-
CENSPOTPP Bust r., laur. (aegis).

Rev. i. f. to l. and r., S C Mars hurrying l., holding small Victory in r., and trophy over l. shoulder.

Æ As. ↓ 26 mm., 10.05 gm. (Godwyn)

After *R.I.C.* 301 B. Mint of Rome, A.D. 85.

36. *Obv.* QIMPCAESDOMITAVGGERM COSXII-
CENSPERPP Bust r., laur. (aegis).

Rev. ANNONA AVGVST: in ex., S C Annona, dr., seated r., holding bag of corn-ears, with

small figure before her, half-draped: in background to r., stern of ship l.

Æ As. ↓ 28 mm., 8.35 gm. (worn).
(Godwyn)

After *R.I.C.* 331. *Rev.* legend possibly recut. Mint of Rome, A.D. 86.

37. *Obv.* IMPDOMIT AVGGERM Head r., laur.

Rev. VICTOR AVG Trophy.

Æ Semis (?). ↑ 21 mm., 6.41 gm. (Douce)

Portraiture fair, but fabric and style rough and un-Roman, and lettering clumsy. Die-relationship unusual (↑↓ is general for Rome and Lugdunum). This coin may be attributed to an eastern mint, after A.D. 84. [Pl. XVI. 7.]

The following minor variants and *addenda* in the Ashmolean Museum may also be noted here:—

VESPASIAN. *R.I.C.* 206 (Titus)—quadriga also to l.; *R.I.C.* 530, note; *B.M.C.* ii, p. 429, addendum to p. 171, before no. 729 n.; *B.M.C.* ii, p. 430, addendum to p. 173 before no. §; *B.M.C.* ii, p. 219, no. 891, note—Coh. 325 confirmed by Oxford specimens; *R.I.C.* 818 should read "head, laur., l.": cf. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 218, no. 885.

DOMITIAN. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 302, no. 23, note—Oxford specimen, as Coh. 579, but with PM; *R.I.C.* 66^a, note—confirmed; *R.I.C.* 107, *obv.* should read, "as on no. 99"; *R.I.C.* 108^a—variant with *rev.* as *R.I.C.* 36^a; *R.I.C.* 132—variant with *rev.* as *R.I.C.* 36^a; *R.I.C.* 148—variant with *rev.* as *R.I.C.* 36^a; before *R.I.C.* 179 add "*obv.* as no. 179, *rev.* as 179, with Minerva as on no. 11, Oxford"; *B.M.C.* ii, p. 374, no. 352 A—variant with open form of the letter Λ; *B.M.C.* ii, p. 409, note †—specimen, with open form of the letter Λ (?sceptre for "dragon-trumpet", oval for "round" shield).

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

MISCELLANEA.

A COIN OF NERO OVERSTRUCK FOR GALBA.

THROUGH the kind co-operation of Mr. Gilbert Askew, the Ashmolean Museum has recently acquired a coin of unusual historic interest.

Obv. OSER • GALBA • IMP • CAESAR • AVG • TR •
P • Head r., laur. : globe at neck.

Rev. DIVA JAVON Female figure, draped, standing
l., leaning l. on long sceptre.

R ↓ 18 mm. 3.50 grm. Slightly double-struck
on obverse.

The portraiture, the globe, and the general style of this *denarius* declare it to be the product of a Spanish mint; and the reverse type may be restored in full as DIVA JAVGVSTTA, Livia, draped, standing l., holding out patera with r. arm and leaning with l. on long sceptre.¹ Part, however, of this reverse striking is occupied by the remains of a previous type: the letters NRO, and the merging of Livia's r. arm in a shapeless excrescence of metal, are clearly to be seen. There can be little doubt that the original types were those of Nero, whose obverse legend invariably ran clockwise: the letters RO cannot otherwise be accounted for, as the pre-Galban issues supply no other instance of their occurrence. When, therefore, the original Neronian types were overstruck, the coin was placed with its old obverse uppermost, ready to receive the full obliterating force of the punch-die, with its flat, compressive face. Owing, perhaps, to insufficient heating or to technical inefficiency, the striking was not well performed: the new obverse was double-struck, and the old obverse was not effaced.²

It does not appear that similarly overstruck pieces are anything but rare: indeed, I have been unable to find a parallel for the period in question. Hitherto, deliberate

¹ H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, i, p. 208, no. 80.

² To judge by its weight, the original coin was perhaps a pre-reform issue of Nero's.

effacement of an emperor's portrait or types seems to have been confined to issues of bronze, whether provincial or otherwise.³ Moreover, although Vespasian set a precedent by striking coinage immediately after his acclamation as Princeps in the east,⁴ this precedent was not invariably observed in later years: there were rivals for imperial power clever enough to pay their supporters out of the reigning emperor's pocket. Hence it is surprising to find, in the present coin, an indication that Galba deliberately overstruck Nero's types: toleration of previous issues had always been the rule.⁵ We must suppose that antipathy to Nero among Roman administrative and military officials in Spain was strong enough to tempt Galba to provide himself, early on, with a coinage made out of Nero's pieces, contrary to the general practice.⁶

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

ROMAN COINS FROM SWINE (EAST YORKS).

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. T. Sheppard I have been able to examine a small find of Roman coins in the Hull Museum; they were turned up in a field at Swine, about five miles north-east of Hull, and consist of 28 denarii and 24 brass. The denarii were of Mark Antony (legionary 1), Nero (1), Vespasian (5), Titus (3), Nerva (1), Trajan (5), Hadrian (3), Sabina (2), Antoninus Pius (2), Faustina I and Marcus Aurelius (2). The latest coins were of Divus Antoninus (*B.M.C.* iv, Pl. 54. 10) and M. Aurelius PROV. DEOR. TR. P. XVII. COS III (*B.M.C.* iv, Pl. 57. 7) = A.D. 163. The brass were asses of Claudius (2) and Vespasian (1), sestertii (2) of Trajan and Hadrian (4), asses of Hadrian (1) and L. Aelius (1), sestertii (3) and an as of Antoninus and a sestertius of Faustina.

J. ALLAN.

³ Cf. F. Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, ii, pp. 373 ff., including p. 391; E. Ritterling, 'Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim', *Annalen des Vereins für Nass. Alt. und Gesch.*, xxxiv (1904), p. 26 f., xl (1912), p. 106.

⁴ Tacitus, *Historiae* ii, 82.

⁵ And still was the rule: cf. Dio Cassius lxx, 6.

⁶ Galba certainly utilized Nero's unpopularity to the full, being perhaps forced to do so by the existence in Spain of elements hostile to himself: cf. Suetonius, *Galba* 10. The methods employed by Galba to supplement his supplies of gold are suggested by Suetonius, *Galba* 12.



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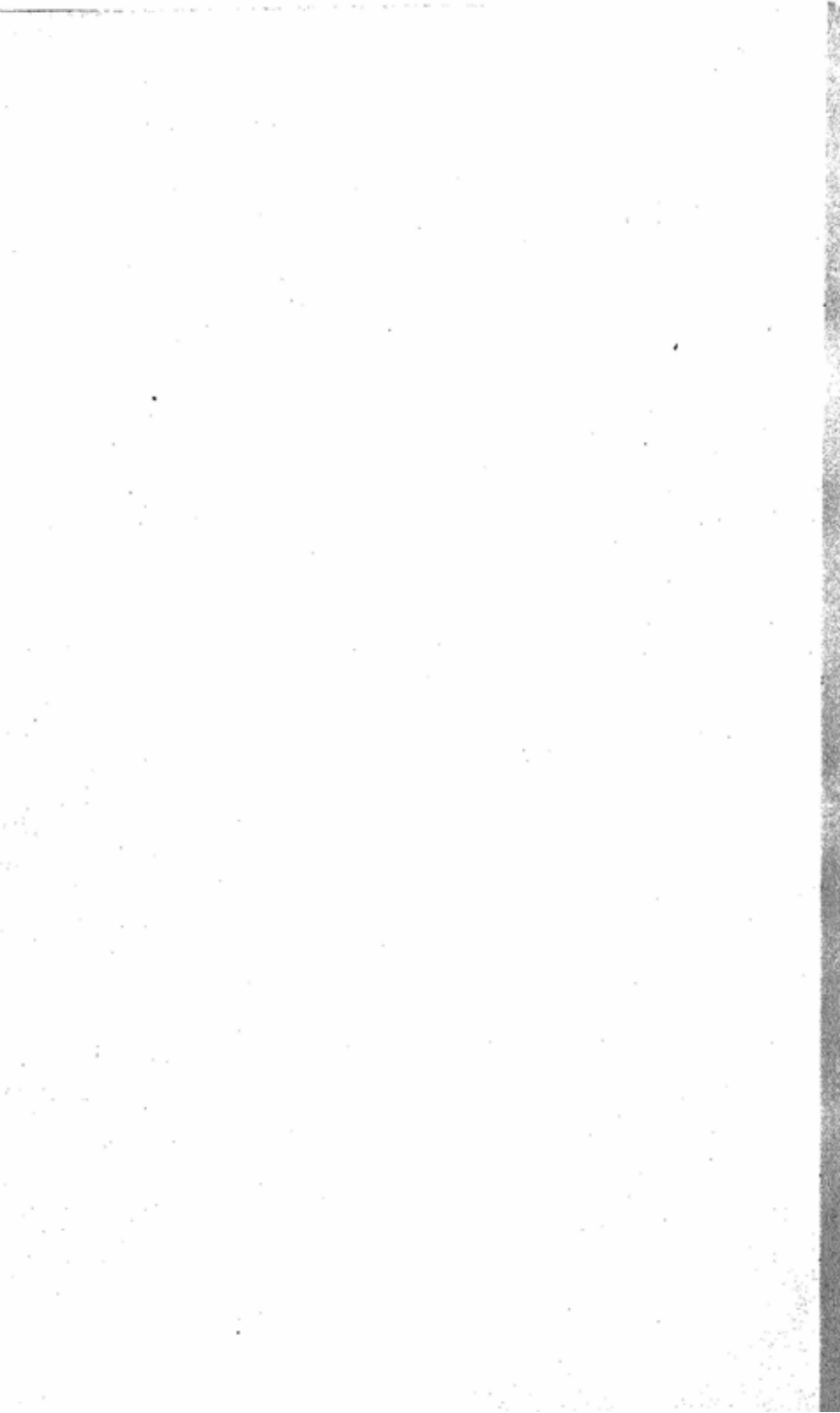


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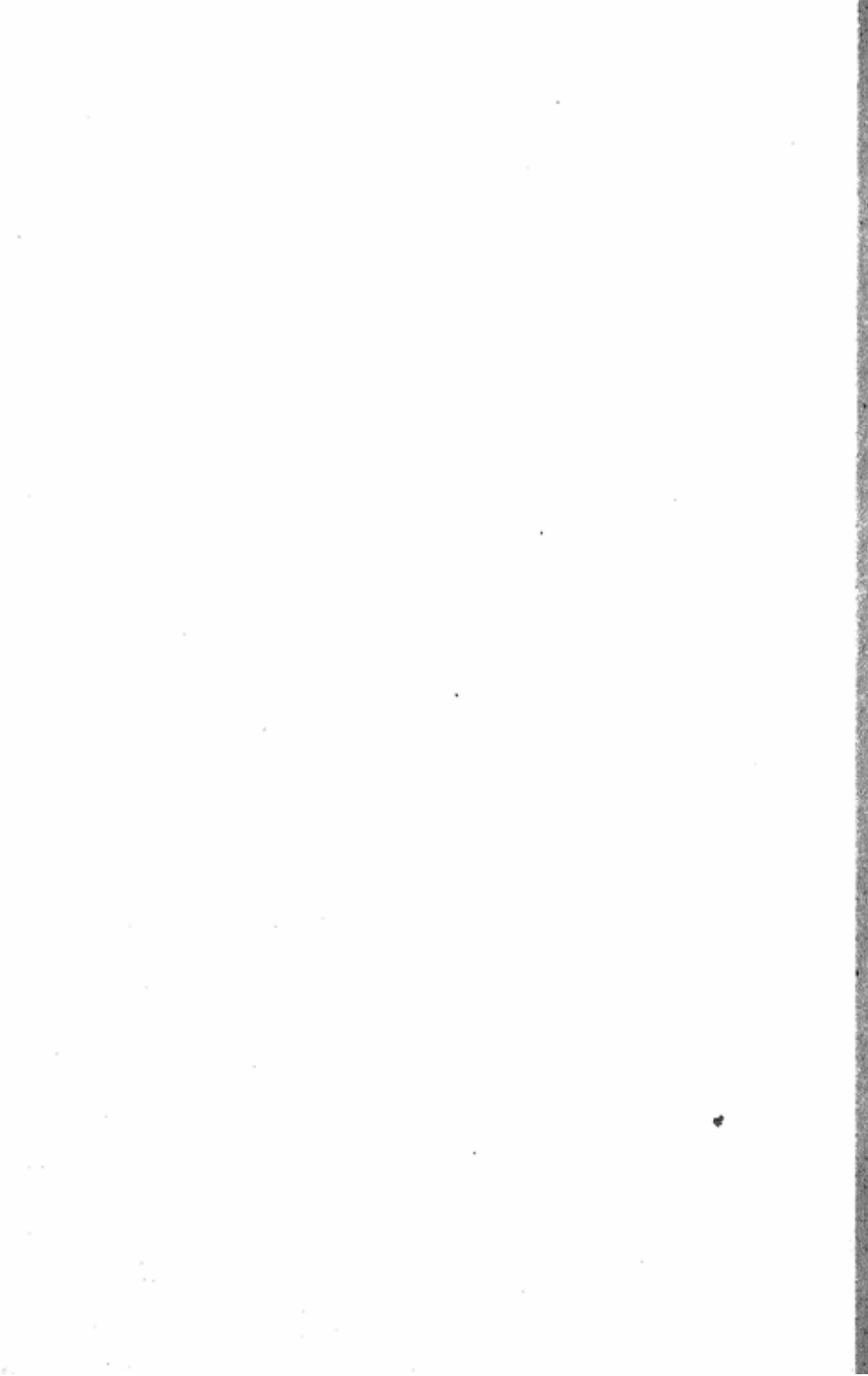


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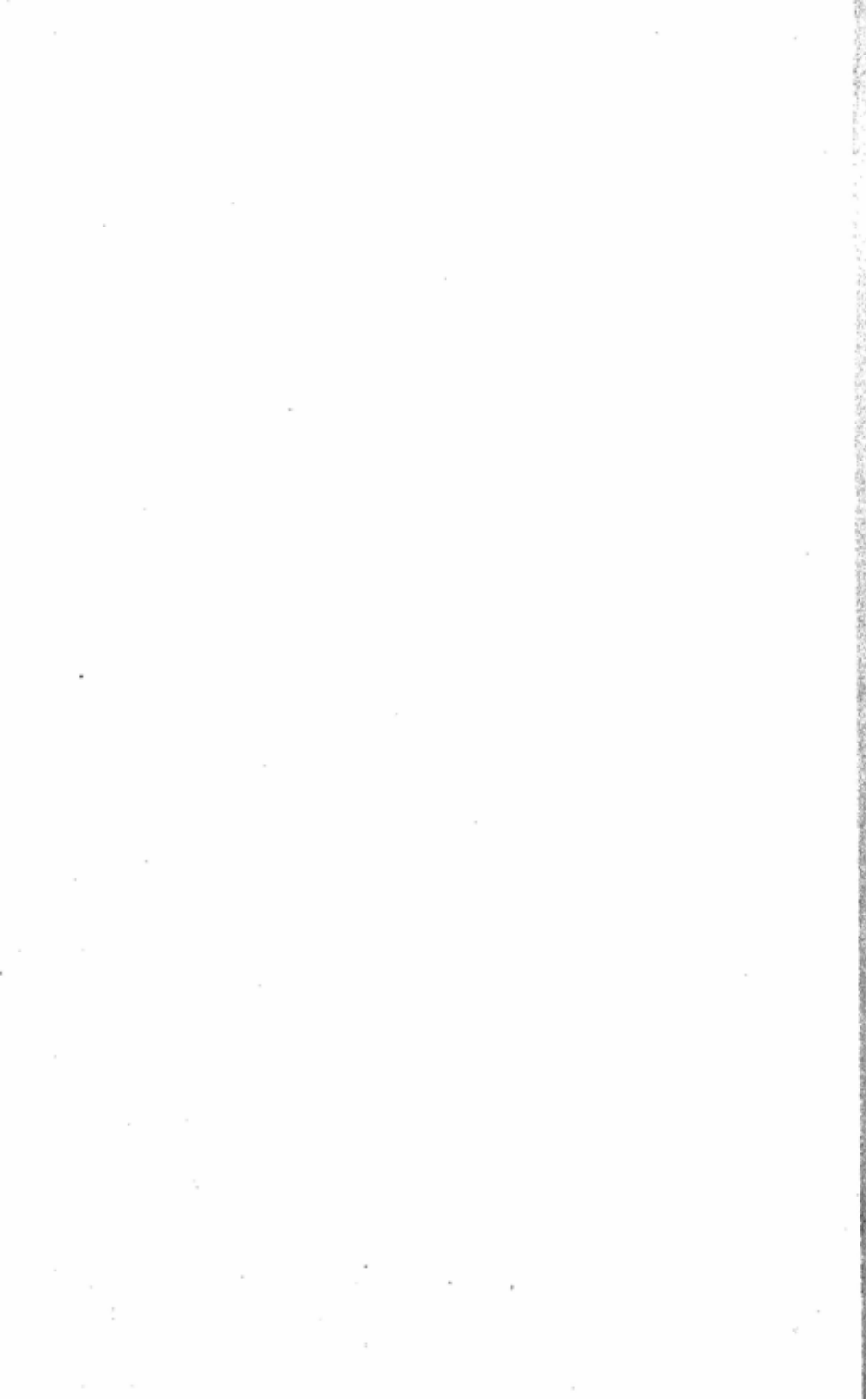














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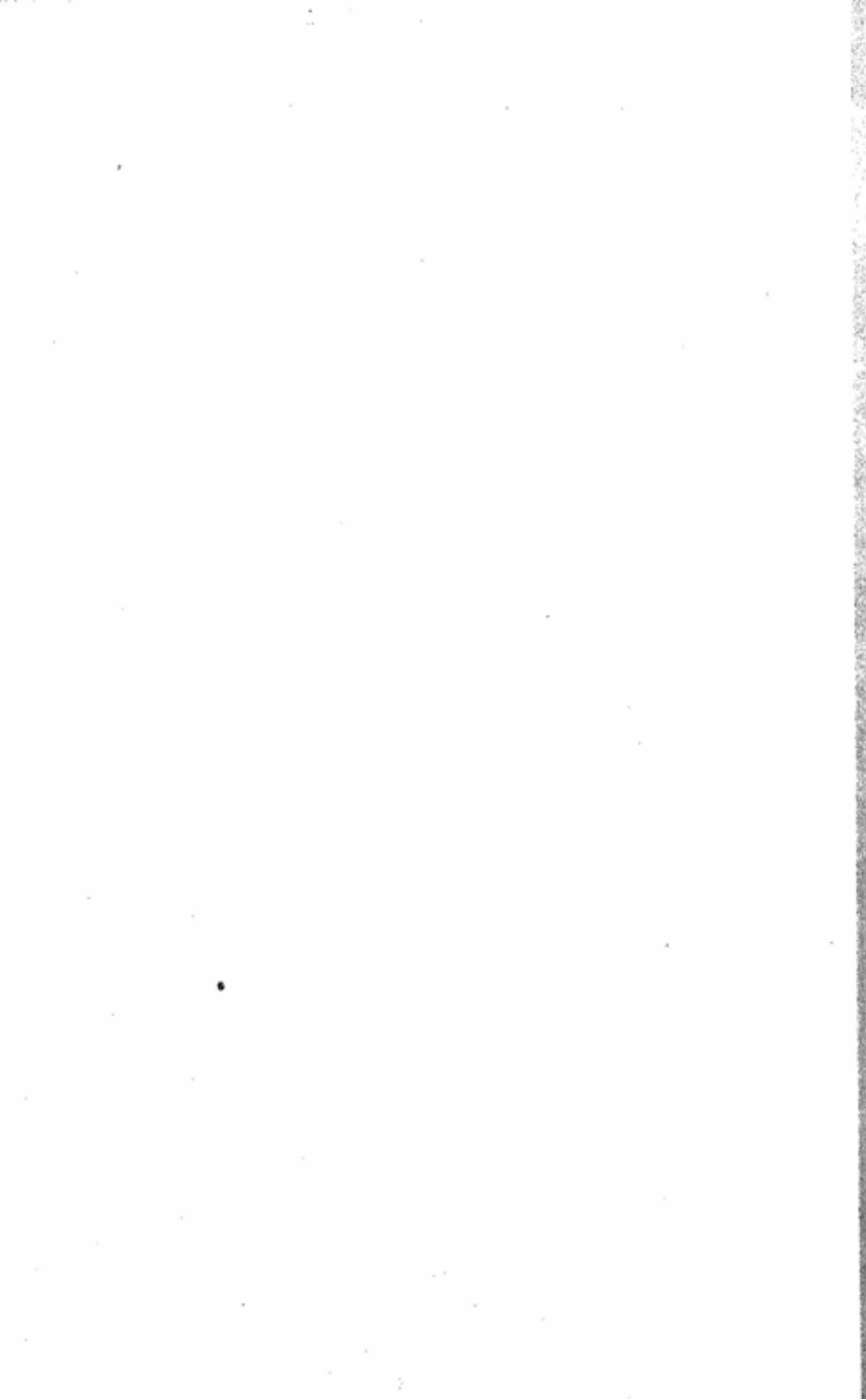


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5

ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS IN THE
OXFORD COLLECTION (2)





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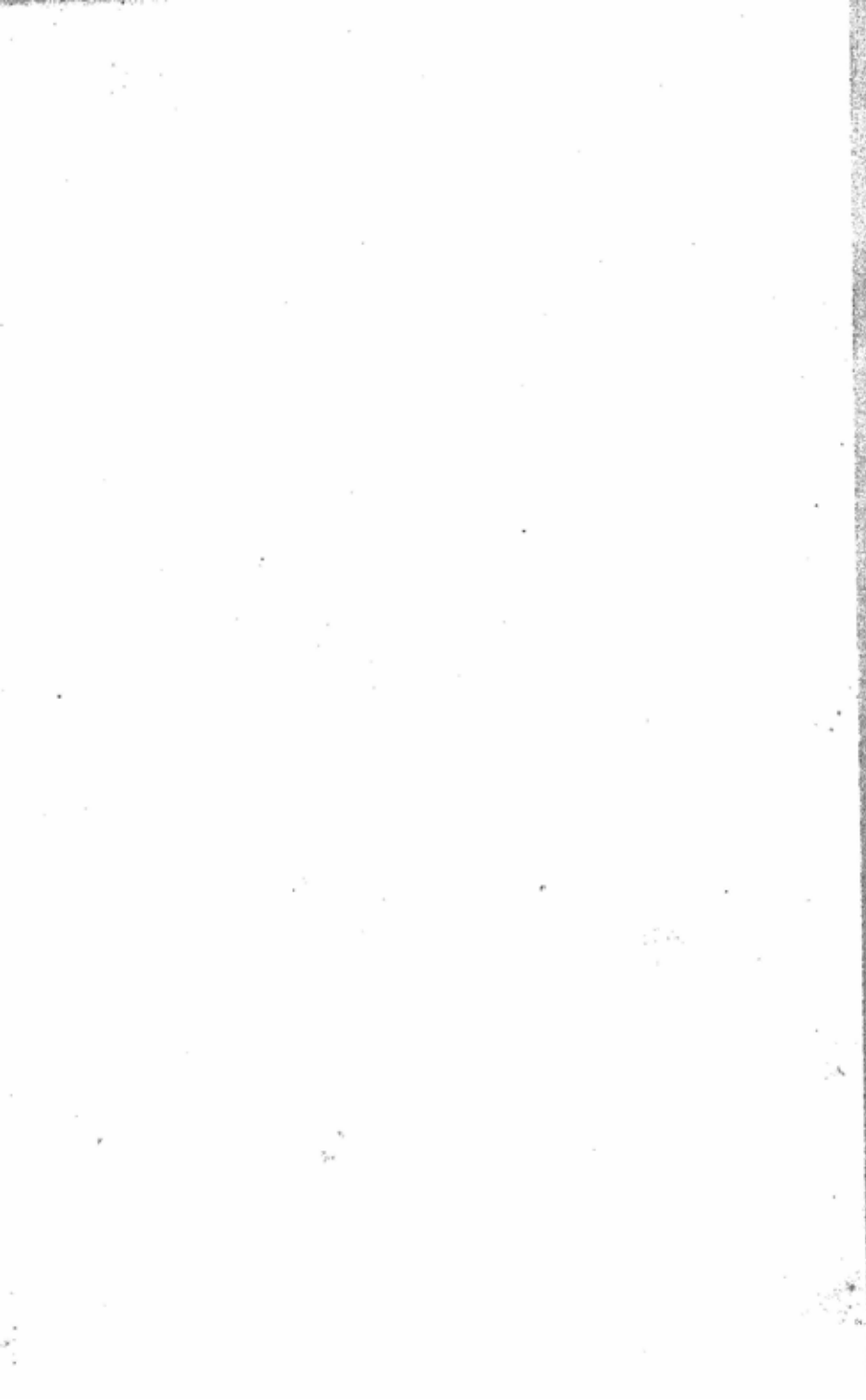


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ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS IN THE
OXFORD COLLECTION (3)



LIST OF FELLOWS
OF THE
ROYAL
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
1940

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

PATRON

HIS MAJESTY THE KING

LIST OF FELLOWS

at the Annual General Meeting, June 20, 1940

*The sign * indicates that the Fellow has compounded for his annual contribution.*

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- 1931 ADCOCK, PROFESSOR F. E., O.B.E., M.A., D.LITT., King's College, Cambridge.
- 1907 ALLAN, JOHN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., *Keeper of Coins and Medals*, British Museum, W.C. 1, *Hon. Secretary*.
- 1935 ALLEN, DEREK F., Esq., B.A., British Museum., W.C. 1.
- 1933 ARMITAGE, T. W., Esq., Trent Lock, Long Eaton, Nottingham.
- 1938 ASKEW, GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A. (Scot.), 48 Brackendale, Potters Bar.
- 1938 BALDWIN, ALBERT HENRY, Esq., 3 Robert Street, W.C. 2.
- 1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., Esq., 3 Robert Street, W.C. 2.
- 1933 BALDWIN, W. V. ROYLE, Esq., Mont Dore, West Hill, High Salvington, Worthing.
- 1909 BALDWIN BRETT, MRS. A., 136-36 Maple Avenue, Flushing New York, U.S.A.
- 1919 BEAZLEY, PROFESSOR J. D., M.A., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 1934 BECKLAKE, J. T., Esq., The Royal Mint, Pretoria.
- 1939 BENAVIDES, HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR DON ALFREDO, Peruvian Legation, 65 Cadogan Square, S.W. 1.

ELECTED

- 1933 *BIDDELL, W. H., Esq., Dorrington, Circular Road, Anuradhapura, Ceylon.
- 1923 BLUNT, C. E., Esq., F.S.A., 15 Gerald Road, S.W. 1.
- 1917 BORDONARO, BARON G. CHIARAMONTE, Palazzo Bordonaro, Piazza Municipio, Palermo, Sicily.
- 1937 BRIDGE, J. W., Esq., M.R.S., F.R.M.S., The Nook, Lucerne Street, Maidstone.
- 1932 *BRIGGS, LLOYD C., Esq., 64 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1895 BRIGHTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Curator, Town Hall, Brighton.
- 1906 BRISTOL CENTRAL LIBRARY, The Librarian, Bristol.
- 1930 BROOKE, W. A., Esq., Spring House, Thetford.
- 1924 BUNN, C. J., Esq., 125 Grove Lane, S.E. 5.
- 1897 BURN, SIR RICHARD, C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret'd.), M.R.A.S., 9 Staver-ton Road, Oxford.
- 1911 BURTON, FRANK E., Esq., J.P., F.S.A., Orston Hall, Notts.
- 1935 CAHN, M. HERBERT A., Freiestrasse 74, Basle, Switzerland.
- 1886 CALDECOTT, J. B., Esq., F.S.A., Amberley, Arundel, Sussex.
- 1914 CAMERON, LT.-COL. J. S., D.S.O., Low Wood, Bethersden, Ashford, Kent.
- 1923 CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND, Esq., F.S.A., 38 Westgate, Chichester.
- 1923 CARTWRIGHT, RICHARD, Esq., Aynho Park, Banbury.
- 1939 CHAKRABORTTY, PROFESSOR S. K., Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal, India.
- 1925 CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN A., Esq., 27 Gilkes Crescent, S.E. 21.
- 1936 COMTE CHANDON DE BRIAILLES, La Cordelière, Chaource (Aube), France.
- 1929 CHAPMAN, G. E., Esq., 5 Christchurch Avenue, Tunbridge Wells.
- 1936 *CHARLESWORTH, REV. MARTIN P., M.A., President of St. John's College, Cambridge.
- 1929 CHECKLEY, JAMES F. H., Esq., L.R.I.B.A., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone.
- 1914 CICCIO, MONSIGNORE COMM. UFF. GIUSEPPE DE, 14 Parco Margherita, Naples, Italy.
- 1891 *CLAUSON, THE HON. SIR CHARLES, C.B.E., Hawkshead House, Hatfield, Herts.
- 1911 *COATES, R. ASSHETON, Esq.

ELECTED

- 1913 *CODRINGTON, HUMPHREY W., Esq., B.A., M.R.A.S., 142 Oakwood Court, W. 14.
- 1932 COPENHAGEN, Nationalmuseet, Møntsamling.
- 1926 CÔTE, M. CLAUDIUS, 33 Rue du Plat, Lyons, France.
- 1902 COVERNTON, J. G., Esq., M.A., C.I.E., Parsonage House, Finchingfield, Braintree, Essex.
- 1939 CRAIG, J. H. McC., Esq., C.B., Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, E.C. 3.
- 1919 *CRASTER, H. H. E., Esq., M.A., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.S.A., *Bodley's Librarian*, Oxford.
- 1920 CROSS, A. PEARL, Esq., F.R.G.S., 35 St. Martin's Court, W.C. 2.
- 1914 CROWTHER-BEYNON, V. B., Esq., M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., Beckington, near Bath.
- 1934 DAKERS, H. J., Esq., M.A., 3 Belmont Hill, St. Albans.
- 1930 DAVIS, A. W., Esq., British Embassy, Baghdad.
- 1933 DENTON, ARTHUR RIDGWAY, Esq., The Myrtles, Haygate Road, Wellington, Shropshire.
- 1922 DICKSON, REV. W. H. FANE, Gorsley Vicarage, Gloucester.
- 1920 EMPEDOCLES, G., Esq., 34 Academy Street, Athens, Greece.
- 1938 EPHRAIM, DR. FRITZ, 48 Avenue Kleber, Paris XVII.
- 1872 *EVANS, SIR ARTHUR J., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., Hon. V.-P.S.A., F.B.A., Corr. de l'Inst., Youlbury, near Oxford.
- 1892 *EVANS, LADY, M.A. (Oxon.), 9 Kensington Park Gardens, W. 11, and Thousand Acres, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire.
- 1905 FAIRBAIRN, SIDNEY H., Esq., M.A., M.D., 11 Bolton Gardens, S.W. 5.
- 1904 *FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, 6 Lowndes Street, S.W. 1.
- 1921 FAULKNER, W. J., Esq., Sutton House, Endon, Stoke-on-Trent.
- 1910 FISHER LIBRARY, THE, University, Sydney, N.S.W.
- 1908 FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, The Director, Cambridge.
- 1928 FORRER, LEONARD STEYNING, Esq., 20 Lancaster Park, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1896 *FRY, CLAUDE BASIL, Esq., F.S.A., Hannington Hall, Highworth, Wilts.

ELECTED

- 1897 *GANS, LEOPOLD, Esq., 207 Maddison Street, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 1912 GANTZ, REV. W. L., M.A., C.F., Abbots House, Stanstead Abbots, Herts.
- 1907 GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, Esq., D.Sc., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., Y Berffa, Deganwy, North Wales.
- 1928 GAVIN, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON GORDON HAY, St. Mary's Vicarage, New Plymouth, Taranaki, New Zealand.
- 1913 GILBERT, WILLIAM, Esq., F.R.S.A., L.R.I.B.A., 74 Broad Street Avenue, E.C. 2.
- 1920 GINORI, MARCHESE ROBERTO VENTURI, 75 Via della Scala, Florence, Italy.
- 1894 GOODACRE, HUGH, Esq., J.P., Ullesthorpe Court, Lutterworth, Rugby.
- 1936 GRANT, MICHAEL, Esq., B.A., 18 Victoria Grove, W. 8.
- 1891 *GRANTLEY, LORD, D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Weeke Manor, Winchester, Hants.
- 1914 GROSE, S. W., Esq., M.A., *Honorary Curator of Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 18 Hobson Street, Cambridge.
- 1916 HAINES, GEOFFREY COLTON, Esq., F.S.A., 31 Larpent Avenue, Putney, London, S.W. 15, *Hon. Treasurer*.
- 1899 HALL, HENRY PLATT, Esq., Pentreheylin Hall, Llanymynech, Montgomeryshire.
- 1933 HANSEN, FRANTS JOHAN, Esq., Woodstock, Hurst Road, Bexley, Kent.
- 1904 HARRISON, FREDERICK A., Esq., F.Z.S., 40 Wembley Park Drive, Wembley, Middlesex.
- 1916 *HART, R. EDWARD, Esq., M.A., Brooklands, Blackburn.
- 1939 HAUSER, ALEXANDER, Esq., 8 Launceston Place, W. 8.
- 1934 HAYDN-MORRIS, HAROLD, Esq., Pokes, Hellingly, Sussex.
- 1931 HEDLEY, W. PERCY, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., Gresham House, Corbridge, Northumberland.
- 1934 HEITHAUS, REV. CLAUDE H., Ph.D., Università Gregoriana, Piazza della Pilotta, Rome.
- 1939 HEMMY, ARTHUR STANLEY, Esq., B.A., M.Sc., 45 Elgin Road, Bournemouth.
- 1930 HERZFELDER, HUBERT, Esq., 77 Rue des Saints Pères, Paris VI.
- 1900 HEWLETT, LIONEL M., Esq., Greenbank, Byron Hill, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex.

ELECTED

- 1932 HILDYARD, E. J. W., Esq., B.A., F.S.A., Horsley Hall, Eastgate, Co. Durham.
- 1893 HILL, SIR GEORGE, K.C.B., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., 12 Sussex Place, N.W. 1, *Honorary Vice-President*.
- 1937 HOHENKUBIN, MARQUIS ALBRECHT DE, 82 Weinburggasse, Vienna I.
- 1920 *HOLROYD, MICHAEL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Brasenose College, Oxford.
- 1908 *HUNTINGTON, ARCHER M., Esq., Honorary President of the American Numismatic Society, Audubon Park, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1922 JAMESON, Monsieur R., 8 Avenue Velasquez, Paris VIII^e.
- 1914 *KERR, ROBERT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.), Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.
- 1939 KING, CUTHBERT, Esq., I.C.S., Sialkot, Panjab, India.
- 1920 KING, COLONEL E. J., C.B., C.M.G., A.D.C., D.L., J.P., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.Soc., The Old House, East End Road, N. 2.
- 1938 KIRKMAN, JAMES S., Esq., M.A., 5 Park Road, N.W. 1.
- 1920 LAST, PROFESSOR H. M., M.A., LL.D., Brasenose College, Oxford.
- 1939 LATHAM, L. J., Esq., 36B Longridge Road, S.W. 5.
- 1885 *LAWRENCE, L. A., Esq., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., 44 Belsize Square, N.W. 3.
- 1939 LEDERER, DR. PHILIP, Villa S. Salvatore 6, Lugano, Switzerland.
- 1939 LEE, CAPTAIN REGINALD, 1 Lombard Gardens, Lichfield.
- 1920 LEWIS, JOHN CAMPBELL, Esq., Bridge House, Troedyrhiw, Merthyr Tydfil, Wales.
- 1907 LOCKETT, R. CYRIL, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., 58 Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
- 1921 LUCKNOW MUSEUM, The Curator of the, Lucknow, India.
- 1940 LUTHER, M., Esq., 40 Foley Street, W. 1.
- 1934 *MABBOTT, PROF. T. O., 56 East 87th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1895 MACDONALD, SIR GEORGE, K.C.B., P.S.A. (Scot.), M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A., 17 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
- 1938 MACINTOSH, H. E., Esq., Tatham Stamp and Coins Co., Springfield, Mass., U.S.A.

ELECTED

- 1923 MALLINSON, REV. ARNOLD, c/o St. Frideswide's Vicarage, Oxford.
- 1932 MARTIN, MAJOR M. F. C., R.E., Ardlonghor, Killylea, Co. Armagh.
- 1912 MATTINGLY, HAROLD, Esq., M.A., British Museum, W.C. 1, *Vice-President*.
- 1905 MAVROGORDATO, J., Esq., Gilridge, Cowden Pound, Edenbridge, Kent.
- 1937 DE MAYO, M. MARCEL, Strada Luterana 21, Bucharest.
- 1929 McNICKLE, A. J. S., Esq., c/o Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., Royal Mail House, E.C. 2.
- 1916 MEIGH, ALFRED, Esq., Dole Spring House, Forsbrook, Stoke-on-Trent.
- 1905 MESSENGER, LEOPOLD G. P., Esq., 151 Brecknock Road, Tufnell Park, N. 19, *Librarian*.
- 1929 MILBANK, S. R., Esq., Panfield, Huntingdon, New York, U.S.A.
- 1924 MILLER, HOYT, Esq., East Shore Road, Great Neck, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.
- 1897 MILNE, J. GRAFTON, Esq., M.A., D.Litt., 23 Belsyre Court, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- 1921 MILNE, MRS. J. GRAFTON, 23 Belsyre Court, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- 1932 MITCHELL, D. D., Esq., 18 Craneford Way, Twickenham.
- 1910 MITCHELL LIBRARY, THE, Glasgow, The Librarian.
- 1888 MONTAGUE, LIEUT.-COL. L. A. D., Penton, near Crediton, Devon.
- 1938 MOORE, SIDNEY, Esq., 8 Woburn Court, Russell Square, W.C. 1.
- 1916 *MYLNE, EVERARD, Esq., B.A., St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, South Africa.
- 1928 *NAVILLE, MONSIEUR LUCIEN, 5-7 Rue Lévrier, Geneva.
- 1906 NEWBERRY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 1905 *NEWELL, E. T., Esq., President of the American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1904 NEWINGTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Librarian, Walworth Road, S.E. 17.
- 1931 NIETER, HANS M., Esq., 41 A Golders Green Road, N.W. 11.
- 1936 NOTMAN, JOHN W., Esq., 156 Earls Court Road, S.W. 5.
- 1882 OMAN, PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES, K.B.E., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., Frewin Hall, Oxford, *Vice-President*.

ELECTED

- 1925 OMAN, CHARLES CHICHELE, Esq., M.A., 13 Woodborough Road, S.W. 15.
- 1931 O'NEIL, B. H. St. J., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., *Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales*, 32 Blomfield Road, W. 9.
- 1932 OSLO, Universitetets Myntkabinet, Norway.
- 1940 PAGET, Captain H. E. G., M.A., 122 Richmond Park Road, Bournemouth.
- 1903 PARSONS, H. ALEXANDER, Esq., Charmandean, Town Court Crescent, Petts Wood, Kent.
- 1936 *PEARCE, BERTRAM W., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Sunnymead, Ash Road, Sandwich.
- 1926 PEARCE, J. W. E., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 10 Cromwell Place, S.W. 7.
- 1936 PHILIP-PHILLIPS, GODFREY S., Esq., 118 Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
- 1927 PINCHES, JOHN ROBERT, Esq., 21 Albert Embankment, S.E. 11.
- 1928 PIRIE GORDON, H., Esq., D.S.C., M.A., F.S.A., 46 Addison Avenue, W. 11.
- 1927 POND, SHEPARD, Esq., 141 Longwood Avenue, Brookline, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1936 POOLE, WILLIAM E., Esq., 31 Canberra Road, Charlton Park, S.E. 7.
- 1923 PRAGUE, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Czecho-Slovakia.
- 1935 RASHLEIGH, J. C. S., Esq., M.A., M.D., Throwleigh, Okehampton, Devon.
- 1937 RATCLIFFE, H. H., Esq., Holly Mount, Rawtenstall, Rossendale, Lancs.
- 1923 RAVEL, MONSIEUR O., 7 Bd. de Lorraine, Pointe Rouge, Marseilles.
- 1937 RAVEN, E. J. P., Esq., B.A., The University, Aberdeen.
- 1930 RAWSON, L. H., Esq., Atholl Bank, Lovelace Gardens, Surbiton.
- 1909 RAYMOND, WAYTE, Esq., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1933 ROBERTS, KENNETH L., Esq., Aberdale, 2 South Road, Newton Abbot.
- 1937 ROBERTSON, MISS ANNE S., M.A., Hunterian Museum, The University, Glasgow.
- 1939 ROBINSON, PROFESSOR DAVID M., John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.

ELECTED

- 1911 *ROBINSON, E. STANLEY G., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., *Deputy Keeper of Coins and Medals*, British Museum, W.C. 1, and 23 Upper Phillimore Gardens, W. 8, *Hon. Secretary*.
- 1910 ROGERS, THE VERY REV. EDGAR, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., The Deanery, Bocking, Essex.
- 1924 ROWE, CAPTAIN FRANCIS G. C., 65 Finborough Road, S.W. 10.
- 1919 RYAN, V. J. E., Esq., Les Silleries, Grouville, Jersey, C.I.
- 1916 SAINT LOUIS NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
- 1916 *SALISBURY, F. S., Esq., M.A., Dorset House, Parkland Grove, Ashford, Middlesex.
- 1935 SASSOON, DAVID C., Esq., 12A Wildcroft Manor, S.W. 15.
- 1939 SCHWABACHER, DR. WILLY, c/o Royal Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen.
- 1917 SEABY, B. A., Esq., 65 Great Portland Street, W. 1 and 46 Baker Street, Potters Bar.
- 1907 *SELTMAN, CHARLES T., Esq., M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge.
- 1890 SELTMAN, E. J., Esq., Villa Maria, S. Giorgio a Cremano, Naples.
- 1936 SHEAR, MRS. T. LESLIE, 12 Battle Road, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
- 1940 SIMPSON, STEPHEN, Esq., Spitchwick Manor, Poundsgate, Newton Abbot.
- 1893 *SIMS, BRIG.-GENERAL R. F. MANLEY, C.M.G., D.S.O., 163 Strand, W.C. 2.
- 1934 SMITH, WELBORN OWSTON, Esq., M.A., 41 Molyneux Park, Tunbridge Wells.
- 1939 SMYTHE, V. DU BÉDAT, Esq., Sherwood, Irving Road, Bournemouth.
- 1930 SNIJDER, PROFESSOR G. A. S., Allard Pierson Stichting, Weesperzijde 33, Amsterdam (O.).
- 1937 SOHONI, S. V., Esq., St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.
- 1936 SPINK, DAVID F., Esq., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1894 SPINK, SAMUEL M., Esq., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1928 STEBBING, W. P. D., Esq., F.S.A., Five Ways, Upper Deal, Kent.
- 1932 STEWART, JAMES R., Esq., Park Cottage, Kingsdown, Taunton.
- 1931 STRAUSS, M. LOUIS, 180 Bd. Berthier, Paris XVII^e.

ELECTED

- 1933 SUTHERLAND, ALLAN, Esq., c/o Hansard, Parliament House, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1936 SUTHERLAND, C. H. V., Esq., M.A., Westfield Farm House, Cumnor, Oxford.
- 1914 SYDENHAM, REV. EDWARD A., M.A., The Vicarage, West Molesey, Surrey, *President*.
- 1896 *TAFES, H. W., Esq., M.B.E., 27 Elderslie Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1919 TARAPOREVALA, VICAJI D. B., Esq., Tarapore Villa, 79 Koregaon Park, Poona, C. P., India.
- 1936 THOMPSON, JAMES DAVID ANTHONY, Esq., 5 Chadlington Road, Oxford.
- 1918 THORBURN, PHILIP, Esq., B.A., 86 Rochester Row, S.W. 1.
- 1935 TINCHANT, M. PAUL, 19 Avenue des Arts, Brussels.
- 1929 TORONTO, University of, The Librarian, Canada.
- 1939 TOYNBEE, MISS J. M. C., Newnham College, Cambridge.
- 1912 VAN BUREN, DR. A. W., American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome (29).
- 1923 WALES, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Cardiff.
- 1932 WALKER, JOHN, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., British Museum, W.C. 1, *Foreign Secretary*.
- 1924 WALLWORTH, J. N. G., Esq., Fairbanks, Stanley Park Road, Carshalton.
- 1911 WARRE, FELIX W., Esq., O.B.E., M.C., 128 Church Street, W. 8.
- 1920 *WATSON, COMMANDER HAROLD NEWALL, R.N.
- 1885 °WEBER, F. PARKES, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 13 Harley Street, W. 1.
- 1915 WHITEHEAD, R. B., Esq., M.A., Litt.D., F.A.S.B., M.R.A.S., I.C.S. (retd.), 30 Millington Road, Cambridge.
- 1937 WHITTON, C. A., Esq., B.A., The High School, Newcastle, Staffs.
- 1934 WILTSHIRE, R. G., Esq., Longhouse Lodge, Ermyn Way, Leatherhead.
- 1933 WOOD, MISS MARGARET ENVYS, 14 Bentinck Close, North Gate, Regent's Park, N.W. 8.
- 1920 WOODWARD, W. H., Esq., 48 Campden Hill Gate, W. 8.
- 1903 WRIGHT, H. NELSON, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), The Larches, West Hall Road, Upper Warlingham, Surrey.

ELECTED

1936 WRIGHTSON, ANTHONY G., Esq., 20 Brunswick Gardens, W.8.

1933 WÜTHRICH, G., Esq., M.I.E.E., 81 Pursers Cross Road,
S.W. 6.

1932 YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 10 Park Place,
Leeds.

1919 ZIEGLER, PHILIP, Esq., Lilly Villa, Victoria Park,
Manchester.

HONORARY FELLOWS

ELECTED

- 1898 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY,
Palazzo Quirinale, Rome.
- 1930 ALFÖLDI, PROFESSOR ANDREAS, Ferencz Jozef Rakpart 25,
Budapest.
- 1898 BLANCHET, Monsieur ADRIEN, Membre de l'Institut, 10 Bd.
Émile Augier, Paris XVI.
- 1935 CESANO, SIGNORINA L., Museo Nazionale, Rome.
- 1926 DIEUDONNÉ, MONSIEUR ADOLPHE, 14 Rue Worth, Suresnes,
Seine, France.
- 1939 FORRER, LEONARD, Esq., Helvetia, 24 Homefield Road,
Bromley, Kent.
- 1899 GABRICI, PROFESSOR DR. ETTORE, Piazza Bologni 20,
Palermo, Sicily.
- 1937 GALSTER, M. GEORG, Royal Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen.
- 1932 LAFFRANCHI, SIGNOR L., via Carlo Ravizza 19, Milan.
- 1937 LOEHR, DR. A. v., Würthgasse 14, Vienna IX.
- 1904 MAURICE, M. JULES, 15 Rue Vaneau, Paris VII.
- 1899 PICK, DR. BEHRENDT, Schwäbische Strasse 9, Berlin, W. 30.
- 1926 TOURNEUR, PROFESSOR VICTOR, Conservateur en chef de la
Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

MEDALLISTS

OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ELECTED

- 1883 CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
- 1884 AQUILLA SMITH, M.D., M.R.I.A.
- 1885 EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.
- 1886 MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.
- 1887 JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1888 DR. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Winterthur.
- 1889 PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A.
- 1890 MONSIEUR J. P. SIX, Amsterdam.
- 1891 DR. C. LUDWIG MÜLLER, Copenhagen.
- 1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.
- 1893 M. W. H. WADDINGTON, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, M.A., F.S.A.
- 1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, Berlin.
- 1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, M.R.A.S.
- 1897 DR. ALFRED VON SALLET, Berlin.
- 1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1899 M. ERNEST BABELON, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., Litt.D.
- 1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESENHAUSEN, St. Petersburg.
- 1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1903 M. GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1904 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
- 1905 SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.
- 1906 COMM. FRANCESCO GNECCHI, Milan.
- 1907 BARCLAY V. HEAD, D.Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D., Corr. de l'Inst.
- 1908 PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH DRESSEL, Berlin.
- 1909 HERBERT A. GRUEBER, F.S.A.
- 1910 DR. FRIEDRICH EDLER VON KENNER, Vienna.
- 1911 OLIVER CODRINGTON, M.D., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.
- 1912 GENERAL-LEUTNANT MAX VON BAHRFELDT, Hildesheim.
- 1913 GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
- 1914 JEAN N. SVORONOS, Athens.
- 1915 GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.
- 1916 M. THÉODORE REINACH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1918 Not awarded.
- 1919 M. ADRIEN BLANCHET, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1920 H. B. EARLE-FOX and J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX.
- 1921 PERCY H. WEBB.
- 1922 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1923 PROFESSOR J. W. KUBITSCHKE, Vienna.
- 1924 HENRY SYMONDS, F.S.A.
- 1925 EDWARD T. NEWELL, Esq., New York.

ELECTED

- 1926 R. W. MACLACHLAN, Montreal.
1927 MONSIEUR ADOLPHE DIEUDONNÉ, Paris.
1928 SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.B.A.
1929 MONSIEUR JULES MAURICE, Paris.
1930 REV. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A.
1931 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.
1932 H. NELSON WRIGHT, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.).
1933 DIREKTOR PROFESSOR KURT REGLING, Berlin.
1934 GEORGE CYRIL BROOKE (posthumously).
1935 PROFESSOR DR. BEHRENDT PICK, Gotha.
1936 JOHN ALLAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
1937 PROFESSOR VICTOR TOURNEUR, Brussels.
1938 J. GRAFTON MILNE, Esq., M.A., D.Litt.
1939 J. W. E. PEARCE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
1940 R. B. WHITEHEAD, M.A., Litt.D., F.A.S.B., I.C.S. (ret'd.).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1939—1940.

OCTOBER 19, 1939.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting of May 18 were read and approved.

It was announced that the Council, at a Special Meeting on October 8, had decided that the Society should meet as usual, but at 8 p.m.

Professor David M. Robinson was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The President exhibited a series of sestertii of the Antonine period to illustrate the paper.

Mr. Harold Mattingly gave an account of the coinage of the Antonine period with special reference to peace and war. He opened with a sketch of the social and religious background of the period, and proceeded to show how the Golden Age of Antoninus was followed by two most threatening wars under Aurelius, who again was followed by the more peaceful reign of Commodus, over which, however, a shadow hung.

NOVEMBER 16, 1939.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

It was announced that the Society would meet at 2 p.m. in the winter months.

Mr. R. B. Whitehead exhibited and read notes on some interesting new Indo-Greek coins.

Mr. J. W. E. Pearce, F.S.A., read a paper on the "Vota" coinage of Licinius, A.D. 313-314. After a general examination of the coinage he separated the issues into the "Victory" and "Seated Jupiter" types, and showed how they could be connected with the history of the period and where he differed from previous students.

DECEMBER 21, 1939.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Messrs. J. S. Kirkman and L. G. P. Messenger were appointed auditors.

The President showed the denarii of Piso-Caepio on which he read a paper.

In discussing the date of the denarii of Piso-Caepio the President discussed their unusual nature and suggested they were not struck in the year of office of their moneyer, but commemorated some distribution of corn a few years later. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

Mr. Mattingly and Mr. Lawrence also spoke.

JANUARY 18, 1940.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. H. Luther was proposed for election.

Mr. Bertram Pearce, F.S.A., read a paper in which he gave a survey of the vast numismatic material from the excavations at Richborough from hoards and site-finds. He analysed the evidence given by the coins for the history of the Roman occupation. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 57-75.)

FEBRUARY 15, 1940.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

It was announced that the Society would resume its usual hour of meeting, 5.30 p.m., in March.

Mr. H. Luther was elected a Fellow of the Society, and Captain H. E. G. Paget, M.A., was proposed for election.

Mr. R. B. Whitehead read a paper describing some new Indo-Greek coins, and giving his own observations on the distribution of these coins in Northern India, which were frequently incompatible with Mr. Tarn's statements in his recent book. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 89-122.)

MARCH 14, 1940.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Captain H. E. G. Paget, M.A., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. L. J. Latham read a paper on his excavations and discoveries at Kensington Palace and barracks, which included a number of Tudor coins. He explained how he had been assisted by the use of the divining-rod, and in conclusion showed how sensitive the latter was to differences of structure in coins, and how it might be used to distinguish true from false.

APRIL 18, 1940.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

The evening was devoted to exhibitions.

Mr. H. W. Taffs, M.B.E., showed :

1. Three patterns for the Decimal coins of 1846 - 10 cents copper, silver, and tin, by Marrian and Gausby.
2. Three varieties of the Gothic crown of Victoria, 1847; two with inscribed edge and one with plain.
3. Aethelstan penny of Derby mint.
4. Edward III noble of Calais mint.
5. Strip of four Royal Farthings of Charles I: m.m. rose.
6. Charles II Medal by P. van Abeele, struck in commemoration of the Embarkation from Scheveningen, 1660.

Mr. Owston Smith exhibited an interesting series of talers of Bayreuth, Hohenlohe, Nuremberg, and Bavaria.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin showed three rare ancient British coins of Verica and Tasciovanus.

Mr. Philip Thorburn exhibited an interesting series of gold and silver coins of the Seljuks of Irak and Kirman.

Mr. D. C. Sassoon brought gold coins of Czechoslovakia, and of Germany on the recovery of the Rhineland.

The President showed a sestertius of Nero combining the characteristics of the Rome and Lugdunum mints.

MAY 16, 1940.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Stephen Simpson was proposed for election.

Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., showed a rare penny of Richard III of Dublin mint:

Obv. m.m. lis. RICH[RDVS DNS HYBER]? An-
nulet each side of neck.

Rev. CIVI[TKS DVBJLRIG

Open quatrefoil in centre of cross. Weight 8 gr.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton has two specimens of this penny in his collection, both from the same obverse and reverse dies. The coin exhibited shows the mint-mark clearly, which is not the case in the other specimen, nor in the specimen in the Royal Irish Academy Collection recorded in their Guide of Anglo-Irish Coins by G. Coffey issued by the National Museum, Dublin.

Mr. Derek Allen read a paper on the First Coinage of Henry II, the so-called "Tealby" type, in which he explained the basis of classification. In calling attention to the Henricus S. coins, which were late and rare, he suggested the S stood for Senior rather than Secundus, to distinguish the king from Prince Henry crowned heir in 1170.

JUNE 20, 1940.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Rev. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of June 18, 1939, were read and approved.

Mr. Stephen Simpson was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Messrs. Gilbert Askew and W. E. Poole were appointed scrutineers of the ballot.

The following report of the Council was laid before the Society.

The Council have again the honour to bring before you their Annual Report on the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

They regret to announce the deaths of the following five Fellows:

Pierre Charlier	Miss Eleanor Lloyd
Thomas Hodge	The Duke of Northumber-
Captain Pasley-William-	land
son	

They have also to announce the resignations of the following four Fellows:

M. Comencini, Esq.	Captain Spencer-Churchill
Miss Winifred Lamb	Colonel Ulrich-Bansa

In addition three names have been removed under Rule 15.

On the other hand they have to record the election of the following Fellows:

H. Luther, Esq.	Professor D. M. Robinson
Captain H. E. G. Paget,	Stephen Simpson, Esq.
M.A.	

The state of the Society compared with the corresponding period last year is:

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1939	214	13	227
Since elected	4	—	4
	<hr/> 218	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 231
Deceased	5	—	5
Resigned	4	—	4
Removed (Rule 15) . . .	3	—	3
	<hr/> 206	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 219

The Council have also to report that they have awarded the Society's Medal to Dr. R. B. Whitehead, M.A., Litt.D., F.A.S.B., I.C.S. retd., in recognition of his services to the study of Indian numismatics, in particular of the Indo-Greek and Mughal periods.

The Treasurer's Report, which appears on pp. 10-11, was laid before the Meeting.

The Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the President.

The President then presented the Society's Medal to Dr. Whitehead and said :

The presentation of the Society's Medal, awarded by the unanimous vote of the Council, to one distinguished in the science of Numismatics, is naturally a pleasant duty. But the pleasure is manifoldly increased when the recipient of this token of the Society's appreciation is one whom we know, not merely by reputation, but personally as one of our most active supporters.

Dr. Whitehead, in handing the Medal to you, I can say with all confidence, that, as a recognition not only of your numismatic work but of your devotion to the Royal Numismatic Society, we feel that none is more deserving of it than yourself.

The numismatic instinct often develops at a very early age, possibly in one's school-days, but the line it ultimately follows is usually dictated by the accidents of life and surroundings. Your work took you to India, hence your numismatic genius was fired by an interest in Oriental coins. In this branch of numismatics your work is so well known and appreciated that I feel any further commendation, from one so ignorant of Oriental Numismatics as myself, would amount almost to impertinence. Yet apart from details, which appeal chiefly to the specialist, there are certain broad principles of your work that all can, and must, recognize.

You have made large additions to our knowledge of the earlier coinages of India. Not only have you discovered

BALANCE SHEET OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1939.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
31. 12. 38.		31. 12. 38.	
£	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.
215	156 0 0		
9	8 8 0		
<i>Sundry Creditors</i>		<i>Library, Furniture, &c.—</i>	
<i>Subscriptions paid in Advance</i> .		As at December 31, 1938 .	
<i>Capital Account—</i>		20 <i>Sundry Debtors</i>	
Balance as at December 31, 1938 .		16 <i>Subscriptions in Arrear</i> . . .	
Add Excess of Income over		<i>Investments.—As at December</i>	
Expenditure for the year		31, 1938.	
ended December 31, 1939		(In the name of the Society)	
504	551 11 2	£200 5% Conversion Stock	
<i>Westminster Bank, Limited—</i>		1944-64	
Overdraft on Current Ac-		£1,100 London, Midland	
count		and Scottish Railway,	
Less Research		4% Preference Stock .	
Account		556 4 0	
P. H. Webb		756 4 0	
Bequest		(N.B.—Stock of <i>Numismatic</i>	
£10 0 0		<i>Chronicles</i> in hand has been	
17 0 0		ignored.)	
65	89 5 10		
£793	£805 5 0		
	£793		
	£805 5 0		

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1939.

1938.		EXPENDITURE.		1938.		INCOME.	
£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
329	To <i>Numismatic Chronicles</i> . .	334	8 7	6	By Entrance Fees . . .	15 15 0	
56	„ Rent . . .	75	0 0	328	„ Subscriptions . . .	311 15 0	
33	„ Postages, Printing, and Stationery . . .	20	16 10	—			
31	„ Legal Charges . . .	—	—	334		327 10 0	
12	„ Subscriptions written off . .	14	14 0	121	„ Sales of <i>Numismatic Chronicles</i>	128 6 3	
5	„ General Expenses . . .	2	16 1	28	„ Sales of International Congress Volume . .	5 0 0	
7	„ Library Account (Net) . . .	4	10 6	15	„ Contributions towards Plates . . .	— — —	
4	„ Insurance . . .	3	15 0	54	„ Income from Investments	54 0 0	
3	„ Refreshments . . .	5	11 0				
3	„ Lantern Expenses . . .	3	16 9				
—	„ Interest on Bank Overdraft . .	1	12 1				
483			467 0 10				
	„ Balance—Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Balance Sheet . .		47 15 5				
69			£514 16 3			514 16 3	
552							

G. C. HAINES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

LEOPOLD J. P. MESSENGER, }
Hon. Auditors. }
JAMES S. KIRKMAN, }

January 31, 1940.

numbers of fresh coins, but you have arranged and classified them. In proof of your assiduity as a coin collector it is enough to say that your collection was acquired by the British Museum (1922). One further point to be mentioned is that in all your publications you have striven to attain completeness and accuracy by visits to all accessible collections, public and private, beginning with the great Cabinets at New York, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. There is indeed no more eloquent testimony to your labours than the Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, for the first two volumes of which you received the Prix Drouin from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres (in 1914). But, besides this monumental work, you have also catalogued the Coins illustrative of the History of the Rulers of Delhi in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, and have contributed a volume to *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (A.N.S. No. 18) on "The Pre-Mohammedan coinage of North-Western India". Of your Articles, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, the list is, I fear, far too long to give *in toto*, so I must mention only a few as follows: "Some rare Indo-Greek and Scythian Coins", "Notes on Coins of Shamsu-din Mahmud Shah of Delhi and Azimu-sh-shan", both hitherto unknown rulers; a very important classification of "The Mint towns of the Mughal Emperors of India"; "Some notable Coins of the Mughal Emperors" (these were published in three parts in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923-1930); "Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics", describing many hitherto unpublished coins; "Portrait Medals and Zodiacal Coins of the Emperor Jahangir"; "Mir Jafar's Plassy Medal"; and a paper on Sassanian coins of the seventh century, entitled "Multan, The House of Gold", which was also read at the International Numismatic Congress in 1936.

The University of Cambridge has conferred on you the degree of Doctor of Letters in recognition of the historical value of your numismatic works. In handing to you this

Medal I desire to express the further appreciation of the Royal Numismatic Society both of your work and of yourself *bene merenti*.

In reply, Dr. Whitehead said :—

Mr. President and Fellows of the Royal Numismatic Society, I return my warmest thanks for the high honour of the Society's Medal. You, Sir, have spoken in most kind and generous terms of my work ; for my part, I claim that I have maintained a keen and constant interest in our science for more than thirty years. I went out to India in the year 1903 as a member of the Indian Civil Service, and my Province was the Punjab. My subject had not been Classics, and the glory that was Greece meant little to me. I had been a year in India when by chance I heard a remark about the Greek invasion of the Punjab. It must have been my destiny, my kismet as they say, to overhear that conversation ; Alexander the Great made me a coin collector. I collected and studied the coins of the Greek invaders of India with considerable ardour. At first I was entirely absorbed in the fortunes of the Indo-Greeks, but I soon found room for an equal interest in the money of the imperial Muslim dynasties of Delhi, to which I eventually added other series which attracted me. The Punjab Government regarded my hobby with an indulgent eye, and made me responsible for the examination of Treasure Trove ; they generously authorized the production of my Catalogues.

I began collecting just as other collectors had left my Province, and was still more fortunate owing to the fact that next door in the United Provinces were kind friends who helped me at the start ; I record my particular homage to Sir Richard Burn and Mr. H. Nelson Wright, with whom I was to share in much happy and engrossing work. Lastly, it is impossible to overstate what I owe to the British Museum Coin Room, a never-failing source of inspiration and encouragement, of kindness, help, and friendly interest. My special thanks are due to our Secretary, Mr. John Allan,

to whom I feel deeply grateful. May these great experts and our Society continue to flourish.

The President then delivered the following address:—

In each of my annual addresses to you it has so happened that I have begun with a reference to current events of national or international importance. This was inevitable, for not only in this country but throughout the civilized world, the past four years have witnessed movements and developments unparalleled in human history. To-day it is obviously impossible to make an exception. Doubt and apprehension have given place to grim reality. We are facing the greatest crisis in our national history—probably the greatest in human history—and we are facing it with the indomitable British spirit that knows no defeat. It is not my intention, however, to moralize on the war or its probable consequences to modern civilization. Others, better qualified than I, have already done so; and, after all, the business of our Society lies in more peaceful paths, where we find some respite, if only a temporary one, from the clash of arms and the devastating horror of high explosives.

In some of the more cloudy periods of the Roman Empire there rose before men's minds the somewhat elusive vision of a "Golden Age"; and if we may judge from the mottoes which they placed on their coins, their mental attitude always appears to have been that of looking at the present with new-born hope, rather than at the past with lingering regret. The sentiment underlying such trite legends as "*saeculum novum*", "*saeculi felicitas*", or "*felicitas temporum*" is certainly anticipatory, and the familiar "*fel. temp. reparatio*" seems to breathe a prayer, or at any rate a pious hope, that happier times are about to begin.

In these beclouded times we are probably not so optimistic as to envisage a golden age after the war. On the other hand, to search regretfully for a golden age somewhere in the past, or even in what we call "pre-war" days, only shows

it to be as illusory as Mr. Kipling's "Romance" which, even in the far-off days of the cave men, was hailed as "a thing of yesterday". It is only by concentrating our minds and energies on the "things that matter" of to-day that we can, in the spirit of the old coin-legends, hope for a better and happier order of things to-morrow.

Naturally these disturbed conditions have reacted on our Society and its work, so that in some respects the Session, now drawing to its close, has been unique in our annals. With some trepidation, and armed with gas-masks, the Council met early in October to consider whether or not the usual work of the Society should be carried on. Very wisely, as events have shown, we decided to make a start although, in consequence of the black-out, our meetings were fixed at an earlier hour in the afternoon. Naturally the change of time made some difference to the attendance, but our monthly meetings have in no wise fallen below their normal standard of interest, and the various papers read and discussed bear testimony to the really useful work done by Fellows of the Society.

But before speaking of these in detail, I have to mention one or two changes in the personnel of the Society.

I regret to announce the death, during the past year, of five of our Fellows.

Mr. Thomas Hodge was for many years a partner in the firm of Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge and presided at the dispersal of most of the important coin collections of the early years of this century.

Miss Eleanor Lloyd, who did not long survive her father, formed with him the celebrated Lloyd Collection of coins of Magna Graecia and Sicily which recently formed a volume of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* edited by Mr. Robinson. She had been a Fellow of the Society since 1922, and usually attended when the paper was of Greek interest.

Captain Pasley-Williamson was only recently elected to the Society and was a not infrequent attender at its meetings.

By the death of M. Pierre Charlier we lose one of our Belgian Fellows.

And, added to the roll of our National Heroes is the Duke of Northumberland, who has recently been killed in action. He was elected Fellow in 1930 and like his grandfather, who was also a Fellow of the Society, he took an active interest in the fine collection of Greek and Roman coins which he had inherited.

The following four Fellows have resigned: Mr. M. Comenini, Miss Lamb, Captain Spencer-Churchill, and Col. Ulrich-Bansa.

At the present time our total membership stands at 219 as against 227 last year.

Passing to matters of general numismatic interest, I take first the papers read by Fellows of the Society. Here, I think, a brief summary, though possibly somewhat disconnected, will serve a more practical purpose than a dissertative form of Address.

On purely Greek subjects we have had no paper during the Session. But Mr. R. B. Whitehead dealt with an outlying branch of the Greek series in a paper on "Some new Indo-Greek Coins", which showed very clearly the interest attaching to some of the complex problems connected with the coinage. Their complexity arises mainly from the historical obscurity of the centuries following the expedition of Alexander the Great. Although much of this confusion has been straightened out by Mr. W. W. Tarn's work on *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, a number of problems remains unsolved. In the course of his paper Mr. Whitehead showed that it is possible now to re-state and correct many of Tarn's conclusions. Tracing the history of the spread of Greek influence through northern India, by way of the mountains and the Khyber Pass to the plains, he showed that the mint-centres were in the hills, and pointed out that the monograms on the coins, which Cunningham had mistaken for mint-names, are undoubtedly those of moneyers. Mr. Whitehead gave an outline of the coinage from the time

of Demetrius and Menander, and described several newly discovered types which throw light on some of the older problems. Among these rarities may be mentioned a remarkable gold coin on the obverse of which is the helmeted head of Minerva, and on the reverse an owl of different species from that familiar on the coins of Athens; a square copper piece of Antimachus Theos; tetradrachms of Nikias, Hermaios, and Strato; square coins of Maues and Hippostratus and a remarkable coin with the portrait of an uncertain ruler reading HERAU. Affinities to Buddha and possibly Mithra are noticeable in some of the types.

Several different phases of the Roman coinage have been brought under consideration. In my paper on the "Date of Piso-Caepio" I tried to deal with one of the many chronological problems which cause so much difficulty in studying the Republican coinage. Although the shifting of this issue from its traditional date, 100 B.C., to some three or four years later may seem a matter of trifling importance, actually a good deal depends upon it, and the consequent readjustment of the coinage gives a very good illustration of the evidential value of finds. On this point there are one or two things I should like to add. In the study of a series such as that of the Roman Republic, in which no coins are dated and comparatively few moneyers can be identified, we are thrown back on finds as our chief means of drawing up a chronology of the coinage. As it is not always possible to study finds first-hand, we are forced to rely on records made by those who have had the actual handling of the coins. Unfortunately, however, the records of many finds, more particularly those made some years ago, are very inadequate. They contain lists of moneyers and perhaps the number of each variety of coin present. But only rarely do they take any account of condition, die-differences, or variations of style. And as the hoards have in many cases been long ago dispersed, there is no possibility of our being able to recover these lost details, which are of the highest importance in studying the coinage of Republican times. We have dis-

covered, too, that details such as symbols and sequence-marks are often more instructive than the type of a coin itself. But as it is only comparatively recently that the importance of these details has been appreciated, it is scarcely surprising that they are omitted from most of the earlier records. While these delinquencies on the part of those who made the records cause serious loss to students, it is encouraging to note that our present-day methods show a vast improvement over the old ones. A find of coins, instead of being left to the tender mercies of some local savant, is now submitted to the Coin Department of the British Museum, where it is carefully examined and accurately recorded. But, for the benefit of future students, I cannot stress too highly the importance of making these records not merely accurate but as detailed as possible.

Coming to imperial times, Mr. Mattingly gave us a paper on "Peace and War in the Antonine Age". The title has an up-to-date ring about it, eminently fitting in this age of violent contrasts.

Under Antoninus Pius the Roman Empire enjoyed almost unbroken peace and prosperity. Indeed, his reign was the nearest approach to the realization of that long-cherished ideal, the Golden Age. Towards its close, however, ominous war-clouds began to gather and the storm broke under his successor, Marcus Aurelius. Philosopher and saint though he was, and essentially a man of peace, Marcus was not only drawn into the entanglements of foreign wars but led his troops in person, and shared with them the hardships of camp life. The coinage vividly reflects the happenings of the time. There are the peaceable and more complacent types as well as those of a definitely warlike character, Victories, trophies, reiterated allusions to Germani, Sarmatae, and the like. Some are less obvious in meaning, as, for example, the type of Mercury in a temple accompanied by the legend, RELIG. AVG. This refers to the victory, immortalized by ecclesiastical historians as the victory of the "Thundering Legion", and is only one,

amongst many, which serve to illustrate the spirit of the Antonine age.

Mr. Pearce's paper on the "Vota of Licinius in the year A.D. 313" opens up the more general question of the imperial "Vota", on which he has already written several important articles. The ceremonial taking of vows together with the offering of prayers and libations, known as the "Vota", was performed by the emperors periodically every five or ten years. On the coinage of the second and third centuries the beginning of each "Vota" period is recorded by the phrase *vota suscepta* and its conclusion by *vota soluta*. On the coins of the fourth century the words *suscepta* and *soluta* do not occur, but the number of years to which the "Vota" refer are given as VOTA V, X, XX, &c., and the period over which the "Vota" extend as, MVLTIS X, XV, XXX respectively.

Although the "Vota" always held an important place in state ceremonial, numismatically their importance increases in the fourth century, since, in the absence of tribunician and other titular dates, they are our chief means of dating the coins. The fundamental question to be decided is naturally whether the "Vota" numbers mark the beginning or the end of each quinquennium or decennium, as the case may be. On this point there has been a good deal of uncertainty with the result that much of the chronology has been thrown into confusion. For example, Maurice spreads the VOTA V and X coins of Licinius over a prolonged period from A.D. 308-320. Mr. Pearce, however, adduced strong reasons to prove that the "Vota" numbers are always anticipatory, i.e. VOTA V is used at the time of an emperor's accession and continues through the first five years of his reign. On the completion of his first quinquennium VOTA V is immediately replaced by VOTA X. By way of illustration he pointed out that the coins of Constantius II, who reigned 37 years, record his VOTA XXXX, and those of Eugenius, who only reigned two years, record VOTA V. Besides showing that a similar arrange-

ment may logically be expected under Licinius, Mr. Pearce pointed out the close correspondence in the style of portraiture between the VOTA V and VOTA X coins of Licinius, which leaves no doubt that both were issued very close together in A.D. 313 or 314.

Richborough—about which no one is better qualified to speak than Mr. Bertram Pearce—presents an inexhaustible field of interest, partly because it was one of Rome's great outposts at the most vulnerable corner of Britain and partly because, for the past twenty years, excavators have been hard at work on the site and, in three exhaustive Reports, have published a detailed and wonderfully complete record of their discoveries.

Richborough has well repaid the effort expended on it and has added not a little to our knowledge of Roman Britain. The number of coins that have been turned up is enormous, including no less than sixteen hoards. These have, as far as possible, been listed. The large hoard of Barbarous Radiates has already been described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1939, pp. 112 ff.), and more fully in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (No. 80).

Mr. Pearce, whose close connexion with Richborough gives him a first-hand knowledge of all the discoveries, told us many interesting facts about the site and gave a summary of the numerous finds of coins. As is the case with most Romano-British sites, the interest attaching to the coins is collective rather than individual. Types of outstanding rarity or importance are naturally few, although several fresh variants have been added to the series of Carausius as well as one or two specimens that suggest the possible existence of a second ruler of the same name. No entirely convincing explanation has yet been given of the mint-mark, R.S.R. which, as Mr. Pearce hinted, may after all turn out to be that of Rutupiae.

In the English series, Mr. Derek Allen gave a paper, or rather a talk, on the "First Coinage of Henry II". These "Tealby" pennies may be described as some of the ugliest

ever struck in this country. Crude in design and badly struck they certainly are, and further are usually in poor condition. Yet, notwithstanding these detractions, they possess considerable historical interest.

During the chaotic reign of Stephen irregularities had crept into the coinage, as they had into most other national institutions, and many of the Barons as well as other unauthorized persons issued money without any kind of state control. Henry's first concern was the restoration of law and order, hence barons and ecclesiastics found themselves shorn of many of their self-arrogated rights. The new coinage, introduced in 1158, was part of his general policy, and in it we see the first real, though not altogether successful, attempt to standardize the coinage. By this means Henry sought to stamp out the malpractices of Stephen's reign and restore confidence in the national currency. The coins of the "Tealby" class belong to the period 1158-1180, whereupon they were superseded by the "short-cross" pennies. In their main classification Mr. Allen accepted that proposed some years ago by Dr. Brooke and Mr. L. A. Lawrence, the determining features of which are variations in the rendering of the portrait and in the form of obverse legend. The unusual form, HENRI. REX. S., which occurs on a small series of coins, has been held to stand for "*Henricus secundus*", but, in view of Henry's irregular proceeding in having his son, Henry, crowned in 1170, Mr. Allen suggested that the legend might possibly be translated "*Henricus senior*". A rare specimen of a penny with this legend, struck at the Ilchester mint, was exhibited at the meeting by Mr. Elmore-Jones.

Although the moneyers in charge of the various mints were controlled under Henry II far more thoroughly than in the previous reign, they do not always appear to have been men of the highest integrity. This fact, as Mr. Allen pointed out, may be gathered from the sheriffs' records in the Pipe Rolls, where fines imposed on moneyers and debts incurred by them are repeatedly entered.

New methods of archaeological research never fail to arouse interest, and in his paper on "Discoveries at Kensington Barracks" Mr. L. J. Latham described methods, which, if not entirely new in themselves, have recently been applied to archaeological research with most interesting results. Ancient buildings, when they fall into decay, easily become obliterated and forgotten. And when the site is subsequently built over, excavation becomes a matter of considerable difficulty. The area now occupied by the Kensington Barracks, off Church Street, marks the site of one of Henry VIII's palaces, which has long since vanished. But the line of the old conduit was successfully traced and incidentally the foundations of much older buildings, possibly of Roman date, have been brought to light. In the course of these excavations four coins of the Tudor period were discovered, a testoon and half-groat of Henry VIII, a groat of Mary 1533, and a silver penny of James I. The coins are all in worn condition and numismatically present no features of unusual interest. The method of finding them was, however, both unusual and interesting, since the discovery was made by means of a "divining rod".

The mysterious power of the dowser, or water-diviner, has been recognized from remote times, but it is only recently that this power seems to have been put to any practical use or that any attempt has been made to explain it scientifically. Mr. Latham exhibited one of these "divining-rods" formed of two pieces of whale-bone and also a pendant ivory ball, the use and peculiar properties of which he demonstrated. Although their efficacy in such subtle matters as the detecting of forgeries may not be as complete as the demonstrator claimed for them, there seems no doubt that, with practice and experienced handling, these apparently simple appliances may lead to amazing results. At any rate, a few experiments conducted on these lines promise to be interesting.

Although fewer Numismatic works have been published during the past year than usual, there are among them

several which we may add to our libraries with advantage. It is not my place or purpose to review these works, since in most cases this has already been done elsewhere, but rather to point out, as far as I can, how they may prove useful.

Taking first the works on Greek Coins, Mr. J. M. F. May's *Coinage of Damastion* is a really important study of a somewhat obscure, but historically interesting, series of Greek coins. The question of the identification of Damastion is discussed at length and older misconceptions regarding it are satisfactorily dealt with. Mr. May's treatment of the subject is very complete and the coins are fully illustrated. The fact that a good deal of information is derived from his personal researches in western Greece imparts an element of freshness to the subject.

In a monograph on "The later Seleucid mints of Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus" (*A.N.S. Notes and Monographs*, No. 84) Mr. E. T. Newell straightens out yet another of the many problems that surround the Seleucid coinage. Of his earlier work in connexion with this extensive series it is no exaggeration to say that he has made sense of what before was unintelligible, and has brought order out of chaos. By no means the least important part of this work was that of determining and segregating the issues of the various mints, which changed frequently with the fluctuating fortunes of the Seleucidae. The two mints, discussed in this monograph, do not make their appearance until about the last half-century before the final break-up of the Seleucid domination. The regular issues of Ake-Ptolemais begin during the second reign of Demetrius II—although a few coins belong to a rather earlier period—and the mint continued its activity more or less constantly down to the end of the second century B.C. Its coins are distinguished by a barley-stalk and ΠΤΟ, usually in monogram, placed in the field of the reverse.

Damascus, notwithstanding its commercial importance, gives no evidence of having possessed a mint before the reign of Antiochus VII. But from 139 B.C. to the end of

the second reign of Antiochus Grypus the issues of this mint are continuous, and even last down to the time of Tigranes. The coins assigned to the two mints are all fully described and illustrated.

The second part of vol. iii has been added to the *Sylloge Nummorum Græcorum*. In this is described and illustrated a further section of Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection of Greek coins, including the Sicilian, Siculo-Punic, and Thracian series. Of the many rare and artistically beautiful specimens contained in this part of Mr. Lockett's collection I cannot speak in detail, nor need I add to what I have said previously about the value of a publication, such as the *Sylloge*. Coin collections are laboriously made and oft-times quickly dispersed and with their dispersal much valuable information concerning them is frequently lost. Were this to happen in the case of so important a collection as that of Mr. Lockett, the loss to the Numismatic world would be incalculable. Here the useful purpose of the *Sylloge* becomes self-evident. Its standard as a publication has always been high, yet this last volume shows an improvement over its predecessors by giving fuller descriptions of the coins.

The eighth and ninth Dura Finds are described by Mr. Alfred R. Bellinger in a monograph, published by the American Numismatic Society (No. 85). The Finds, which were unearthed at Dura in 1932-1933, comprise 2,847 bronze coins of the Greek-Imperial series, chiefly of the period from Commodus to Philip I. Most of the coins are of Syrian or Mesopotamian mintage, the mints of Edessa, Nisibis, Antioch, and Amasia being the most largely represented, while comparatively few coins are from mints in Asia Minor and Greece. The coins are arranged according to their mintage, and some detailed notes are given on certain prevailing reverse types, such as the Tyche of Antioch, the Pyre of Amasia, and the temples of Neo-Cæsarea.

Two works deal with ancient coins from an analytical point of view (1) *The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins* by Mr. Earle Redcliffe Caley (American Philosophical

Society) and (2) *The Composition and Production of some Roman Silver Coins of the Third Century* by Mr. Ernest A. Smith (published by the Institute of Metals). This aspect of the study of ancient coins has received comparatively little attention till recently, not because numismatists have been unaware of its importance, but because very few possessed the requisite knowledge or appliances for this kind of research. The assay or analysis of the metal of which coins are composed, and the study of microstructure, belong to the province of the metallurgical specialist—a qualification which these two authors can undoubtedly claim.

A review of Mr. Caley's work has already appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, to which little need be added. The results of his research will commend themselves to many of us mainly because they are tangible. It has probably been our experience, at some time or other, to feel dissatisfied with our ordinary methods of deciding the merits of a coin. Such criteria as style, structure, or weight, have carried us some way, but yet we felt the need of further evidence, something scientific and tangible. Mr. Caley's line of research, therefore, promises to supply this need, and it certainly opens out great possibilities.

Mr. Smith's short monograph describes a similar test applied to a somewhat limited group of Roman coins, that is to say, mainly coins contained in the Dorchester Hoard, which Mr. Mattingly described to the Society last year. The author shows from analyses the low percentage of pure silver (on the average less than 40 per cent.) in the antoniniani of Gordian III and his successors. He further explains the good surface they present, notwithstanding their debased composition, as the result of their having been immersed in dilute sulphuric acid. This simple process appears to have been well known in Roman times, and the explanation is certainly interesting.

Dr. J. G. Milne's handbook entitled *Greek and Roman Coins and the Study of History* (Methuen) contains a mass of information in a small compass, much of which cannot

readily be obtained elsewhere, and is the result of a lifelong intimacy with the coins. Dr. Milne's object in writing the book is, as he tells us in the preface, to supply material and suggestions to teachers of ancient history. This plan is consistently followed throughout, and if here and there Dr. Milne's treatment of debatable matters seems to be somewhat dogmatic, it is probably because his aim is to be suggestive rather than dissertative. In this respect the references given in the appended notes are particularly useful, and teachers will discover plenty of material for lectures in chapter vii, on "Types". Although Dr. Milne devotes a good deal more attention to the Greek coinage than to the Roman, it is not necessary to infer that he underrates the historical importance of the latter. His purpose seems to be, rather, to call attention to points which may easily be overlooked, trusting that the teacher will discover the more obvious ones for himself.

In *The Romans in Spain* Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland looks at Roman history from a Spanish standpoint. This particular angle has about it an element of novelty, and has not been adopted previously by any English historian.

An introductory survey of Iberian history and culture from the second millenium B.C. leads up to the main theme, which covers the period from the beginning of the Second Punic war to the time of Trajan. Mr. Sutherland's handling of the subject is, throughout, both solid and scholarly. His facts are marshalled in close order and he uses no padding. Moreover, all his facts are substantiated by references to ancient sources. Although, as its title suggests, the book treats of history rather than numismatics, Mr. Sutherland frequently refers to the coinage and incidentally gives us much useful information about the autonomous Iberian and also the Hispano-Roman issues. Unfortunately, the limits of this address prevent my speaking about *The Romans in Spain* as fully as I could wish, or as it certainly deserves. But I recommend it to all who are interested in Roman times, and hope that the book will not remain merely as an

interesting study but may be the prelude and stimulus to the development of what has hitherto been a neglected section of ancient numismatics.

The ancient coinages of Spain are not only vast in extent, but, amongst the Roman provincial coinages, present many features of unique interest. Yet, up to the present, we have no up-to-date corpus of the coins, and results arrived at by modern research can only be found in isolated articles or monographs. Speaking from experience, and my own somewhat inadequate attempts to study the Spanish coinage, I feel intensely the need of consolidating these results and of collating and re-classifying the whole coinage.

"The Date LHA on Alexandrine Coins of Gallienus" is discussed at some length by Mr. Laffranchi in an article in the *Rivista Numismatica*.

In an essay entitled "The Roman Virtues" (*Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xxx, no. 2)—which, by the way, I ought to have mentioned last year—Mr. Mattingly leads us through a fascinating and little explored country. The "Virtues", or personifications, made familiar to us as coin-types—Pax, Felicitas, Honos, Virtus, Concordia, and the like—are not to be despised as unreal fancies of an age whose methods of thought differ essentially from our own. On the contrary, they are an index to the religious thought of early Rome, and help towards the understanding of the Imperial cult and of the transition from pagan to Christian thought. This is the interesting theme which Mr. Mattingly unfolds. And, if the limits of his paper impose on him the necessity of leaving some points merely as suggestions, the prospect of further investigation on these lines is certainly attractive.

The fourth volume of the *B.M. Catalogue of Roman Coins* is passing through its final stage and should be ready in the course of the next month or so. This volume, which is the work of Mr. Mattingly, covers the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus, and incidentally is the most bulky of the series so far published. Not only in

virtue of its completeness but in the highly scientific plan of its arrangement, this volume will be found to be of superlative importance to the study of Roman Numismatics.

Among recent articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* that have not been read at meetings of the Society I should like to call attention to one on "Barbarous Overstrikes of the Fourth Century" by Messrs. J. W. E. Pearce and H. Mattingly. The article is not a collaborated work so much as a discussion in which each author states his hypothesis and marshals his evidence in support of it. The barbarous bronze coins, of which large quantities have been found more particularly in this country, have attracted considerable attention of late, and this somewhat limited class of "barbarous overstrikes" opens up fresh problems regarding them. This article presents two totally different theories, or rather suggestions, which may be outlined briefly as follows. Mr. Pearce, referring to a rescript in the Codex Theodosianus dated A.D. 356, which mentions *pecuniae vetitae* as opposed to *pecuniae in usu publico*, suggests that the overstriking was a rough and ready device for converting "forbidden" into "current" money. Without attempting to reproduce the arguments in support of this view, it may be sufficient to say that Mr. Pearce states his case logically and attractively. Mr. Mattingly, however, discovers one or two weak points in his defences, and proposes an entirely different explanation. Basing his arguments on the view that these barbarous pieces are the products of a barbarous people, or of a district reduced to the level of barbarism, Mr. Mattingly suggests that the Pict invasion under Valentinian I presents all the necessary conditions for this peculiar class of coin. Of course, Mr. Mattingly does not claim that his position is less vulnerable than Mr. Pearce's. So for the present these entirely opposite theories regarding "barbarous overstrikes" must remain *sub judice*. Both authors, however, agree that a problem of no small interest has been launched, and that a good deal of fresh evidence is needed before it can be safely brought to rest.

Mr. J. W. E. Pearce has also published an account of a hoard of late Roman bronze coins from Stretham, near Ely.

An account of "Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains in Chester" (1939) by Professor Newstead and Professor Droop, is published in the *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Archaeological Society*. The opportunity of making excavations in the middle of the city arose in consequence of the clearing of a slum area. Foundations of first-century and later buildings were found and upwards of 50 coins, ranging from Nero to late fourth century. The finds themselves appear to be in no way remarkable, but amongst the coins a barbarous sestertius of Antoninus Pius is worth noting.

Amongst works dealing with more modern coins is a monograph by Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham on "Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania" (*A.N.S.* No. 86) in which is collected a series of documents relating to the issue of false money, which appears to have been peculiarly prevalent in this part of America during the eighteenth century.

I will conclude this general survey by drawing your attention to two works of an historical character. First, Sir George Hill's *History of Cyprus*. In this first volume he traces the history of Cyprus from the earliest ages down to the conquest by Richard Lion Heart. Any attempt to review so large a work is beyond the scope of this address. Sir George works on a broad canvas, leaving no space on it unfilled, and the work throughout is stamped with his high standard of scholarship and thoroughness. Although not primarily concerned with numismatics, a work of this kind is bound to throw valuable light on the coinage of Cyprus.

Secondly, *The Handbook of British Chronology*, which is no. 2 of the Royal Historical Society's *Guides*. Here is contained an immense amount of tabulated information, ranging from facts concerning Royalty and High Officers of the State to the fixing of some obscure Saint's Day in the Calendar. This easy reference to so wide a range of facts is an incalculable boon not only to students of very diverse pursuits, but to many general readers as well.

That we have experienced some disappointments in the past year is, I regret to say, inevitable.

The final instalment of volume iv of *Roman Imperial Coinage* and also the projected work on the *Coinage of the Roman Republic*, have been held up, and at the moment it is impossible to say when they will be published. Probably, too, a good deal of other useful work has been similarly deferred.

The virtual closing of the Coin Department of the British Museum—at any rate the removal of the coins—has temporarily suspended research which to many of us is extremely pleasant and, we venture to believe, useful.

These, of course, are disappointments. Yet we take them in good part as some of the lesser evils inflicted on us by Herr Hitler.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mr. John Allan for the help that he has given me in preparing this address, and also to other members of the Staff of the Coin Department for their unfailing kindness in many directions and at all times.

I keenly appreciate the spirit in which the Fellows of the Society rallied round, more particularly at the opening of the present session since, without this support, it would have been impossible for us to carry on. As events have turned out, we can look back upon this session as an eminently satisfactory one. And if its results have not been specially outstanding, they at any rate mark a solid advance in the study of numismatics.

At the beginning of this address I referred to one or two mottoes found on coins of the Roman Empire. I cannot, I think, do better than end it with another coin-motto, taken this time from a Swiss thaler of the sixteenth century, which must re-echo in the heart of every Englishman to-day, "Domine conserva nos in pace".

A vote of thanks to the President for his address was proposed by Mr. Harold Mattingly and seconded by Mr. Gilbert Askew.

The President then announced the result of the ballot for office-bearers for 1940-1941 as follows:—

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The President proposed a vote of thanks to the Auditors and the Scrutineers of the ballot, and adjourned the Society until October 17 at 2.30 p.m.



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